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James W. Paige

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A
DEFENCE
OF THE
RIGHTS
OF THE
Christian Church.

In Two PARTS.

PART I. Against Mr. *Wotton's* Visitation
Sermon, preach'd at *Newport-Paguel*.

PART II. Occasion'd by two late Indictments
against a Bookseller and his Servant, for selling
one of the said Books. With some Tracts
of *Hugo Grotius*, and Mr. *John Hales* of *Eaton*.

The Second Edition Corrected.

To which is added,

A Letter from a Country Attorney to a Country
Parson, concerning *The Rights of the Church*.
Never publish'd before.

And likewise,

Monf. *Le Clerc's* Extract and Judgment of the
said Book, translated from his *Bibliotheque*
Choisie.

LONDON, Printed in the Year, M. DCC. IX.

DEFENCE
OF THE
RIGHTS

Christian Church

Odd vol.

James W. Paige

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TO THE
READER.



THE two Discourses of the Rights of the Church having met with so good a Reception as to require a new Edition, 'twas thought proper to add to 'em Mons. Le Clerc's Extract and Judgment of the said Book, taken from his Bibliotheque Choisie; as also a Letter to a Country Parson concerning it, which was never before publish'd, and wherein the Argument of the Rights is further inforc'd.



TO THE

READER

THE EDITOR OF THE
LONDON GAZETTE
AND
THE LONDON GAZETTE



ALL INFORMATION
RELATIVE TO THE
MILITARY AND NAVAL
SERVICES OF THE
ARMY AND NAVY
OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND
AND TO THE
MILITARY AND NAVAL
SERVICES OF THE
INDIAN EMPIRE
AND TO THE
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AFRICAN EMPIRE
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ASIAN EMPIRE
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AND TO THE
MILITARY AND NAVAL
SERVICES OF THE
SEED EMPIRE

A



A
D E F E N C E
O F T H E
R I G H T S
O F T H E
Christian Church, &c.



IT was no small Satisfaction to the Author of *the Rights of the Christian Church*, to find at last one Sermon, amongst the so very many preach'd against him, appear in Print; especially when 'twas not only recommended to the Publick by so considerable a Number of Clergy,

as were assembled at *Newport-Pagnel* upon their Bishop's primary Visitation, but since generally extol'd by the whole Body, and in such credit with 'em, that in a few days it bore a second Impression.

This made the Author of *the Rights* think, that tho it were too frequent for the Pulpit first to misrepresent a Discourse, and then to combat its own Misrepresentations ; yet that nothing of this nature wou'd be in a Sermon thus pompously usher'd into the world, and cry'd up for having destroy'd the Principles, and subverted the Foundation, upon which *the Rights of the Church* was built: And therefore he concluded, that now he shou'd be so happy as to see the false Reasonings he had been guilty of, at least in the most material Points ; or else if he was so unfortunate, as not to be convinc'd by what such Learned Persons had so powerfully recommended, he shou'd have an opportunity to shew them the Motives he had still to adhere to his former Sentiments. But upon reading this so Celebrated Piece, he cou'd perceive no other Reason for writing an Answer to it, than to shew what great Respect he had for the Clergy assembled at *Newport Pagnel*, that they shou'd not think any thing worth publishing in this Controversy, which he wou'd not fully consider.

Serm. p. 2. The first thing the Author of *the Rights* is accus'd of, and which is a heavy Charge indeed, is, " That he has virtually thrown aside the Scriptures, by declaring that every Man is under an indispensable Obligation to worship God after the manner he thinks
" most

“ most agreeable to his Will ; and in all Religious Matters whatever, to follow the Dictates of his own Conscience.

This the Author of *the Rights* thinks so much his Duty, that by the Grace of God he will not only continue to act so himself, but will endeavour to persuade all others to do the same, tho he suffers ever so much by those who are against worshipping God according to the Manner they think most agreeable to his Will ; and are against following the Dictates of their own Consciences, lest they virtually throw aside the Scriptures. But can any thing be a higher Blasphemy against those Divine Writings, than supposing them inconsistent with Mens acting conscientiously, and with worshipping God after the Manner they think most agreeable to his Will ? This Supposition not only virtually throws them aside, but cancels 'em downright, and with the worst Character which can be given 'em ; and our Preacher is, no doubt, in a fair way of subverting the *Rights of the Church*, when he can't attack it unless he first declares against acting according to Conscience, and makes the Author of *the Rights* strike not only at *High and Low Church*, but *Christianity it self*, in affirming, “ That no Man's Religion, like Serm. p.2.
“ his Lands, descends from Father to Son,
“ but every one, when capable, is to chuse
“ his own Church ; and the only Motive to
“ determine him, is the saving his own
“ Soul. 'Tis not his joining to a Church
“ yesterday which obliges him to continue in
“ it to day, but a constant personal Liking.

P. 22.

But if Men are not born with Religion, as they are with Hands or Feet, 'tis impossible for one to be of any Church, if he does not chuse it: For what is chusing a Church, but to prefer being of it before not being of it? And he who prefers one Church before another, must do it upon some Motives either Spiritual or Secular. And whoever condemns one for doing this on the account of saving his Soul, and is against his changing his Church at any time, tho his eternal Salvation requires it, can only have temporal Motives to influence him in the Choice of a Church; such as a settled Maintenance, which our Preacher says *goes a very great way to keep up Religion*. These are Mysterys, one wou'd think, which are not fit to be blab'd out before the profane Laity, how proper soever for an Assembly of Ecclesiasticks.

In a word, if a Man is to have any Religious Sentiments, which I suppose our Preacher will not deny, either he must chuse 'em himself, or, since there is no Medium, chuse to be determin'd by the Judgment of others. In the first consists the Essence of Protestantism, in the second that of Popery: and, as ill luck wou'd have it, what this *Asserter of the Rights of the Clergy* objects against *the Rights of the Church*, the allowing Men the Liberty to chuse their own Religion, and to worship God after the manner they think most agreeable to his Will, as virtually throwing aside Scripture, is the Foundation on which the Papists raise their Batterys against the Protestant Religion. And one cou'd scarce forbear thinking that our Preacher had been

copying

copying out of the Papers found in the Strong Box, and publish'd by King *James* as his Brother's. For as these say, in order to ridicule the Protestant Principle of private Judgment, " 'Tis not left to every fantastical Paper 1.
 " Man's Head to believe as he pleases, and
 " that 'tis the same thing to follow one's
 " own Fancy, as to interpret Scripture by
 " it: If the Power of interpreting Scripture Paper 2.
 " be in every one's Brain, what need of
 " Churchmen? What, no Interpreter of
 " Scripture, but what lieth in every Man's
 " giddy Brain!" So our Priest says, *Religion does not depend on our Will and Pleasure*; Sermon. p. 6.
'tis not left to us whether we will believe or not,
or that Men may alter their Opinion as oft as P. 2.
they please. They (the Apostles) had no No- P. 12.
tion of a State of Nature, wherein the People
were to chuse their own Religion. Religion is P. 17.
not a voluntary Agreement, which Men enter into
just as they see good, to serve God their own
way. And a great deal more of such stuff,
 brought in, as far as I can see, for no other
 purpose than to confound the Protestant Principle of every one's judging for himself. Who is not surpriz'd to hear such things as these from my Lord N——m's Chaplain! And let me add (which I can't mention without a deep Concern for our poor Church) that it must administer no small occasion of Triumph to the Church of *Rome*, when they see so considerable a Body of our *English* Clergy command and desire the publishing of a Sermon, no small part of which is spent in pretending to shew that for Men to follow the Dictates of their own Consciences, and to worship

God after the Manner they think most agreeable to his Will, is virtually to throw aside the Scriptures. And the Papiſts can't but be pleas'd to ſee a Book which pulls up Popery by the roots, attack'd on ſuch Principles as overthrow the Proteſtant Religion; tho I hope that can't be in much danger from ſuch Perſons, who (whatever their Intentions may be) afford Men, by all their Actions as well as Diſcourſes, if duly conſider'd, invincible Arguments againſt an Implicit Belief: And to do our Preacher juſtice, there's ſcarce a Line in his whole Sermon, which ſhows not the intolerable Abſurdity of a blind Submiſſion, I mean to ſuch Guides as himſelf.

Serm. p. 5. Who, how indifferent ſoever his Talents may be as to Reaſoning, yet he is very happy as to Miſrepreſenting; as will appear from the Meaning he endeavours to fix on this Sentence in *the Rights of the Church*; "That in
 "Matters of Religion Men are ſtill in a
 "State of Nature, without any Sovereign
 "Representative to determine for 'em what
 "they ſhall believe and profeſs: Which tho
 P. 6. he ſays, *That God is not our Sovereign Representative*, yet he wou'd have the Author of *the Rights* to mean God in thoſe words, and makes him affirm, 'That God cou'd not bind Men without a previous aſking their Conſent; and then for ſome Pages combats the Man of Straw of his own ſetting up. But to take the words in that ſenſe, is not only abſurd in it ſelf, but contrary to what he immediately before condemns the Author of *the Rights* for aſſerting, *viz.* That Men are under an indiſpenſable Obligation to worſhip God after that manner

manner they think most agreeable to his Will; so that common Charity wou'd have oblig'd him not to put this Meaning on 'em, were they capable of any other. But 'tis unaccountable he shou'd wrest 'em to this sense, when in almost every Section of the Introduction, and even in that out of which he singles this Sentence, the State of Nature is oppos'd only to Human Political Government; and the words immediately preceding those he cites, of *no Man's Religion like his Lands, &c.* are, " This is all the Power Men cou'd invest the Magistrate with in Religious Matters; so where this does not reach, they can be under no other human Power, but remain still in a natural State, subject to God and their own Consciences only. And *Magistrate, Sovereign, Representatives, and Legislators*, are us'd promiscuously in the Introduction; the Design of which is to shew in what things Men are subject to 'em, and in what they are in a State of Nature, free from all human Impositions. But if it be *the Rights of the Clergy in a Christian State* thus to misrepresent their Adversarys, it may be granted that this Preacher is a stout Asserter of Rights peculiarly theirs: but whether the *Antient* or *Modern* Preachers excel most in this learned Art, is what Mr. *Wotton* is a very proper Person to determine.

Rights of
the Chur.
p. 23.

Had he consider'd what's in the very Title-Page of the Book he pretends to confute, he might there see, that *Tertullian* in saying, *Humani Juris & naturalis Potestatis unicuique quod putaverit colere*, affirms the same thing as the Author of *the Rights*. And 'tis not only

only *Tertullian* who maintains that for every one to worship God as he thinks fit, is a Power which of natural Right belongs to Mankind; but all the Primitive Christians use the same Argument in all their Apologies; and indeed 'tis the only one they cou'd plead in behalf of a Toleration, to Magistrates who had so great an Aversion to their Religion: and yet we don't find the Heathen had so little Conscience or Humanity, thus to misrepresent their Meaning. And every one except a designing Priest must see, if Men have Governors, Judges, and Umpires for 'em in Religious Matters, that either *Hobbesism*, or which is worse, *Popery*, is unavoidable. Mr. *Chillingworth*, the ablest Defender of the Protestant Religion, in answer to the Jesuit, who thinks there ought to be Judges in Religious as well as Civil Matters, shows him, with that exact Reason he was always Master of, why in one there must be, and in the other there ought not or cannot be any Judges. And if his Reasons are unanswerable, the Author of *the Rights* is guilty of no other Crime than condemning those pretended Protestant Ministers, who assume to themselves the Power of Popish Priests, in setting up to be Judges for the People in Religious Matters. And did the Clergy read and consider Mr. *Chillingworth* as they ought, we shou'd not have seen this Sermon, or heard of any others against the *Rights of the Church*; since their Principles are the same. And if the latter has writ with somewhat more Freedom, it's to be consider'd that

Par. 1.
Chap. 2.
P. 45.

that the former's Book underwent, as he himself complains, *a fiery Trial*; but that now there are no Clergy-Licensers to expunge the best things out of Authors.

If the Laws of Modesty allow one to say that in his own Defence, which at other times wou'd be unpardonable, the Author of *the Rights* considering how busy so many Pulpiteers, like the Craftsmen of *Ephesus*, are to stir up the People against him as an Enemy to their Temple and Religion, might be excus'd, if to take off the Edge of the Envy, and to allay the Force of that Prejudice their unjust Clamours raise against him, he mentions the Character given of it by a Clergyman celebrated over all the Learned World for his deep Penetration, exact Judgment, and great Skill in Divinity: But the greater the Character is which is given, and the greater the Person who gives it, the less he presumes to mention it; and therefore shall only refer the Reader to Monsieur *Le Clerc's Bibliotheque Choisee*, Tom. 10. particularly pag. 309, 341, 357.

To return to our Priest; He, according to the common Practice of Declaimers, is for engaging Heaven and Earth in his Quarrel: And having first represented the Author of *the Rights* as an Enemy to God and Religion; the next thing he attempts, is to render him so to the Government; and says, *The Queen and two Houses of Parliament have* P. 22, 23. *thought it necessary to quiet the Minds of the People, by declaring that the Church is not in danger, and that they will take all possible care*

P. 20.

to leave it safe to Posterity ; we can't therefore but think all Discourses of this kind to be Seditious as well as Unchristian : And he calls the Rights, a Seditious Furious Assault on the Clergy of the Church of England.

P. 21.

But if the Queen and Parliament have declar'd that they will take all possible Care to leave the Church safe to Posterity, how can it be *Seditious* to shew what is the Constitution of the Church ; especially since there are no small numbers, who deal with it as this Priest does with *the Rights of the Church*, endeavour to make it appear quite another thing than it really is, and dress it up after a Gaudy Popish manner ? And our Preacher himself insinuates, as if there were some among 'em who were no cordial Friends to the Church as by Law establish'd, in saying, *If in our times any Men have for By-Ends of their own carry'd the Power of the Church too far, is what they say a Law ?* No, by no means : nor can it be Sedition, or a furious Assault on the Clergy of the Church of England, to write against Men, whom the Wisdom of the Nation has declar'd to be *Malicious Incendiarys, spiteful and dangerous Enemy's to the Church and State*. But if these Men, *who for By-Ends of their own carry the Power of the Church too far*, are now to be given up, why is the Author of *the Rights*, who has been in some measure the occasion of this no small Service to the Church, so violently rail'd at ? This looks somewhat like acting too for By-Ends.

How

How can any one shew his Zeal for the Church as by Law establish'd more effectually, than by opposing a new sort of Disciplinarians? who, as our Preacher's Diocesan assures us, "are risen up from amongst our selves, who seem to comply with the Government of the Church much upon the same account as others do with that of the State; not out of Conscience to their Duty, or any Love they have for it, but because it is the Establish'd Church, and they can't keep their Preferments without it: They hate our Constitution, and revile all that stand up in good earnest for it; but for all that, they resolve to hold fast to it, and so go on thus to subscribe and rail *. And of these, in that Bishop's Judgment, there are no small numbers, since he declares, that *Nothing at Appeal, this day preserves us from Ruin and Desolation, but that we (the Clergy) have not Power of our selves to do the Church a mischief.* If so, what can be doing the Church a greater Kindness than to hinder the Clergy from doing it a mischief, by usurping more Power than the Law allows 'em? And if all such as stand up in good earnest for the Constitution are to be revil'd, and Dr. Wake in particular has been represented as a Judas, a

P. 120.

* Dr. Wake's *Epist. Dedicatory to his Appeal* to all true Members of the Church of England in behalf of the King's Ecclesiastical Supremacy as by Law establish'd, by our Convocations approv'd, and by our Eminent Bishops and Clergymen stated and defended against all Popish and Fanatical Opposers.

Rights,
 &c. of the
 Convocat.
 P. 38.

Church-Dudley, a *Church-Empson*, for defending the King's Ecclesiastical Supremacy, as by Law establish'd, by Convocation approv'd, and by our most eminent Bishops and Clergymen stated and defended; the Author of *the Rights of the Church* will think it an Honour to be rail'd at in so good Company: especially since it is for no other Crime than justifying by Principles the Constitution of our Church, which Dr. *Wake* did only by Authoritys. And one wou'd think this was not so great a Crime in him, because Dr. *Atterbury* himself seems to allow a Layman to speak truth in Defence of the Church, when in railing against the now Bishop of *Lincoln* for maintaining the Dependence of the Convocation on the Sovereign for its time of sitting, he says, *Cou'd such a fine Point be made out, yet surely it does not become Clergymen to help it forward: Let us leave that dirty Work to be done by the profess'd Enemys of Religion and the Order, but let not the Hands of Levi be imploy'd in it.* So that according to this *Levite*, the Clergy's writing for the Constitution of the Church which they are sworn to defend, and in a Point which can be made out, is *dirty Work*, and fit only for the profess'd Enemys of Religion to undertake. And we to our cost find, that no small number of *Levites* conspire together, to represent those who stand up in earnest for the Constitution of the Church, as Enemys to Religion, and thereby give too just occasion for the World to think, that they place the whole of Religion in advancing right or wrong the Interest of their Order. Tho

Tho there never was a more senseless Book than *Ecclesiasticum Municipium*, or fuller of more bitter or virulent Reflections on the Constitution of the Church; yet Dr. Atterbury calls the Author of it, a *Learned Adversary* indeed, that has taken Dr. Wake to task upon the general Principles of Church-Discipline and Government. And sure this Author must have very particular Qualifications, to atone for his railing at the Constitution and his Ecclesiastical Superiors, which cou'd qualify him for his late Dignity. But to return to our Preacher.

Ibid. Pref. p. 2.

He says, That our Author thro a great part of his Writings artificially confounds the Usurpation of Popery with the Proceedings of the Clergy of our Church that are authoris'd by Law; of which as he gives not one Instance, 'tis likewise so far from being true,

P. 21.

that the Author of the *Rights*, as he has occasion, not only mentions 'em with a great deal of Respect, but blames others for reflecting upon 'em; particularly on our Glorious Martyr and Great Reformer Archbishop Cranmer, whom some of late have treated with as much Indignity as they do the Author of the *Rights*; who had he acted otherwise, wou'd have been inconsistent with himself, since he declares the Design of the Book is to defend the Church against all her

Pref. p. 58.

Enemys; and says, " That as it was to defend the Church of *England* against Papists, Jacobites, &c. that caus'd him to engage in this Controversy, so none can have a juster Esteem for all her Clergy, who according to the Doctrine of the best-constituted

Ri. p. 303.

“constituted Church (the Title he all along gives her) “disown all Independency. And certainly what may be Satyr on others, is a Panegyrick on her genuine Sons ; and if any are offended, it shows their Enmity to the Principles of the Establish’d Church, on account of the Tenets which they hold in common with the Papists, in favour of an Independent Power.

P. 20.

Nor is there the least colour for surmising, that the Author of *the Rights* insinuates, that they who teach according to the Doctrine of the Church of England, come to the People with cunningly devis’d Fables, or, as St. Paul speaks, with the cunning Craftiness of those who lie in wait to deceive. And he is ready to do Mr. Wotton so much Justice as to believe, that he never cunningly devis’d any Fable, or ever did any thing which had in it the least of the cunning Craftiness of such as lie in wait to deceive; but whether he has not invented Fables of the Author of *the Rights*, and attempted to deceive the People to his Prejudice, let the Reader judg.

P. 22.

The Preacher goes on : *That their* (the Clergy’s) *Maintenance, God be prais’d, is settled by Law, seems to be one of our Author’s greatest Grievances ; who tells us, that nothing is found more effectual to keep a Pragmatical Priest within some Bounds, than the Apprehension of having a Staff and a Pair of Shoos laid at his door.* One wou’d think by the Preacher’s manner of ushering this in, that it was some shreud Contrivance of the Author of *the Rights* to deprive the Clergy of their legal Maintenance ; when ’tis only reciting the

the way which the States of the *United Pro-* Rights of
vinces take to keep their Priests within some Church,
 Bounds: and did they not observe in a Po- P. 214.
 pular Government some such Method, it's
 impossible they shou'd preserve Peace and
 Quietness. But how the mentioning this
 Practice of the *Dutch* is a Design on the Legal
 Maintenance of our Establish'd Clergy, the
 Preacher is oblig'd to shew; otherwise eve-
 ry one will see that the calling out this sin-
 gle Sentence, with the Turn he gives it,
 cou'd be done with no other Design, than to
 prejudice the Author of *the Rights*. 'Tis
 very happy for a Priest of this Temper
 that his Preferment does not lie in that
 Country.

Tho this Priest by his Principles makes P. 11.
 the Dissenters Schismatics, in affirming all
 Church-Authority by Divine Right to be sole-
 ly in the Bishops; and likewise supposes Per-
 secution so necessary, that he thinks he can't
 better expose the Author of *the Rights*, than
 by making him say, "That bare Immoralities P. 20:
 "and open Blasphemy are the only punish-
 "ble things; and that the Magistrate has no P. 2.
 "Right to break in upon Mens worshipping
 "God after the Manner they think most a-
 "greeable to his Will: Yet to set the Dis-
 senters against his Adversary, he calls them
his Brethren, and says, we are far from repin-
 ing at the Liberty which the Law allows them.
 For Men of these Principles, and who appear
 zealous for Occasional Bills, to talk thus, puts
 me in mind of what Dr. Burnet says on ano-
 ther occasion: "To hear Papists declare a- Dr. Bur-
 "gainst Persecution, and Jesuits cry up Li- ner's Pa-
 "berty pers, p. 82.

“ berty of Conscience, are, we confess, unusual things ; yet there are some Degrees of Shame, over which when Men are once pass’d, all things become so familiar to them, that they can no more be put out of countenance.

P. 2.

Our Preacher’s complaining, that what his Adversary says *is the ready way to set the Dissenting Ministers a starving* ; and the courting ’em in this place, where he affirms, that *a Toleration of Christians that differ from us is one thing, and such a Declaration, viz. of their chusing their own Religion, is another* ; is in effect saying, If you suffer this antiquated Protestant Principle of People’s judging for themselves to revive again, your Craft as well as ours will be in danger : and therefore pray Brethren do you in your Pulpits bawl as loudly as we do in ours against the *Rights of the Church*, which has the Impudence to pretend to obtrude it on us again, after we have with so much ado got rid of it ; and which we only us’d as a Means to throw off the Pope’s Authority, and not to prejudice our own.

And now having clear’d *the Rights of the Church* from those malicious Insinuations and false Representations which this Priest, God forgive him, has charg’d it with ; we now come to the main Point, which is not, Whether those Powers, Rights, and Privileges which the Clergy of the National Church enjoy, do justly belong to ’em, for that both sides allow (and as ’tis not pretended on one hand, that the Priests at present have any Power by virtue of an immediate Commission from

from God ; so 'tis not on the other deny'd, that all Power, of what nature soever, is mediately from God) But by what Tenure, for that's the sole Question, the National Clergy enjoy those legal Powers ; Whether they give these to one another, exclusively of all Human Laws, by a Commission deriv'd from the Apostles ; or whether they must so far condescend as to be upon a level with Queen, Lords, and Commons, and be content with a Human Right. Or in a word, Whether there be a particular Set of Men, who by a Power handed down from one another, in a perpetual Succession from the Apostles, have a Right to make Laws for the Church, to exercise all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and to appoint all Ecclesiastical Officers exclusively of the People or their Representatives ; or whether God has not left it to the Church or Partys concern'd to chuse their own Ministers, and to determine of all such Matters, without a special Appointment of which, Religious Worship cou'd not be perform'd, nor Ecclesiastical Discipline rightly manag'd, according to those general Rules God has given the Church of doing all things for the Honour of God, for Edification, with Decency and Order, &c.

This last, tho it has all along been the general Opinion of the Reform'd both at home and abroad, yet our modern Disciplinarians can't brook it ; but rail at *the Rights of the Church* for defending it, as destroying all, especially all Reveal'd Religion. Whereas the very Question supposes Reveal'd Religion, the whole Dispute being about the Sense of it in

P. 17.

this particular. And if notwithstanding this the Ecclesiasticks will go on to suppose, that the not allowing 'em a higher Title than belongs to the most Sacred Persons on Earth, God's own Vicegerents, and who themselves are frequently stil'd *Gods* in Scripture, is not only a Mistake, but that it is, as our Preacher says, making *Religion only an Human Institution*; it shewsto what a fine pass things are brought, and that they think there can be no Religion, unless they have an uncontrollable Power of domineering over God's People by a Divine unalterable Right.

P. 19.

And now having clear'd the way, we will briefly consider, tho as fully as the thing deserves, what this Preacher objects to the Principles of *the Rights of the Church*: and what he says from Reason is, *That the long Detail of Arguments concerning the Absurdity of two Independent Powers in one State at the same time, is nothing to the purpose*; and his Reason is, *because the Power of the Church (meaning the Priest) is not Independent on the Civil Magistrate, tho it is deriv'd from an higher Original.* But,

If the Priest's Power be not Independent, it can't be a Legislative or Supreme Power, because That alone is Independent; and any other must be deriv'd from that Legislature on which it is dependent, and can be no other than what is call'd Jurisdiction, and consists only in putting the Will of the Legislature in execution, and consequently can be dependent on no other Legislature than that whose Commands it executes. So that there can't be a greater Contradiction, than to say the

the Priest's Power is not Independent of the Magistrate, and yet that 'tis deriv'd from a higher Original.

If no Government can subsist without an Independent or a Legislative as well as an Executive Power, which mutually infer each other; 'tis a Demonstration that the Government of the Church is not by Divine Right in the Priest. If the *Magistrate be actually* P. 20. *Head of the Church, and oblig'd to take care of it, and immediately responsible to God for its Well-being*; to make a Set of Men, whether he will or no, have a Right to constitute all its Officers, and to put in and turn out of the Church People as they think fit, is as absurd as to make one Supreme Governor of a Garison, and immediately responsible to God for its Safety, and yet affirm that it belongs to others, who do not receive their Commission from him, to make all the Officers, and to put in and turn out any of the Soldiers of the Garison as they please.

The Preacher supposes the Magistrate to lose his Power by a *Revolt*, or an *Apostacy* P. 20. from Christianity. But who must judg of this, and to whom must his Power revert? It can't be to the Priest, because his Power did not flow from him; it must then be to the People, from whom the Magistrate must derive all his Power, even in this Preacher's Opinion, since he supposes the Priest's Power to come from a higher Original than the Magistrate's: and if so, the Priest can then be as little Independent of the People, as before of the Magistrate. But I thought it had been the Doctrine of the Gospel, that all Magi-

strates, whether Christian or not, were equally to be obey'd when they command just things; and when they do not, the Commands of a Christian Magistrate were no more to be regarded than that of a Heathen.

P. 19, 20. Our Preacher affirms, *That Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction is in a Christian State, as to its Limits, and the Cases and Persons upon which it is to be exercis'd, under the Care of the Civil Government: as to the Persons that are to exercise it, the Magistrate has nothing to do to alter them. He has a Right to limit the Exercise of the Jurisdiction of the Church, when he has no Power to take it quite away, or to put the Execution of it into other hands.*

It's a very strange Hypothesis, which supposes that God has given the Clergy a Divine Commission to exercise Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, yet has not determin'd the Cases and Persons, but leaves the Civil Government to limit their Jurisdiction as it thinks fit; which if it can exempt such Cases and Persons from their Power, why not others? and where then shall we stop? And if he can give the Cognisance of such exempted Ecclesiastical Cases to Lay-Persons, why not all others of the same nature? But if there can be no Jurisdiction, which must not have certain Cases and Persons belonging to it; and if there be any Set of Priests who have a Right to exercise Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in 'em by a Divine Commission, the Magistrate can no more limit their Commission, either as to Cases or Persons, than he can repeal it.

And

And whereas he supposes that only Eccle- P. 3, 4.
 siastical Persons have, exclusively of all o-
 thers, a Divine Right to exercise Ecclesiasti-
 cal Jurisdiction, or to censure Offenders, and
 that the Magistrate cannot put this into Lay-
 Hands; both these are contrary to at least a
 dozen Acts of Parliament, as may be seen in
 the Preface to *the Rights*, and to the Prac-
 tice of the Supreme Court of Delegates,
 where the Queen, by virtue of her Regal Su-
 premacy, which extends to *all Spiritual Things*
and Causes, empowers Laymen finally to judg
 of all Matters cognisable in the Bishops or
 Archbishops Courts. And had our Preacher
 liv'd in a Reign less favourable than this to
 the Clergy, he wou'd have been in no small
 danger of suffering the Pains and Penalty of
 a *Premunire*, for thus derogating from the
 Prerogative.

The Supremacy the Clergy have sworn to
assist and defend, is what is contain'd in all
 the Acts of Parliament relating to that Head,
 and among others the 37 of H. 8. c. 17. which
 to prevent Perjury, ought to be writ in Ca-
 pital Letters, and plac'd in Churches direct-
 ly over against the Pulpit, so that it may
 stare the Preachers in the face, when they are
 going to preach up their own Power in de-
 fiance of their Oaths. That Act among other
 things recites, " That the Bishop of *Rome* and
 " his Adherents, that they might thereby
 " gather and get to themselves the Govern-
 " ment and Rule of the World, made divers
 " Ordinances that no Layman shou'd or
 " might exercise any Ecclesiastical Jurisdic-
 " tion ; which being directly repugnant to

25 H. 8.
c. 19.

Pref. p. 12.

P. 3.

“ the King’s Majesty as Supreme Head of the
 “ Church, and Prerogative Royal, his Grace
 “ being a Layman, and albeit the said Ordi-
 “ nances are utterly abolish’d ; yet because
 “ the contrary is not put in practice, be it
 “ enacted, That Laymen may lawfully exer-
 “ cise and execute all manner of Jurisdic-
 “ tion commonly call’d Ecclesiastical, and all
 “ Censures and Coercions appertaining or any
 “ wise belonging to the same. Our Preacher
 outgoes the Popish Priests themselves ; for
 they promis’d *in verbo Sacerdotii* not to meet
 without the King’s Writ, nor when met, to
 attempt doing any thing without his Licence,
 nor that any thing they then resolv’d on shou’d
 have the Force of a Canon unless the King
 first ratify it : which is not, as the Author
 of *the Rights* observes, claiming so much Power
 as a petty Corporation, which is not ty’d up
 to any such Formalitys in making By-Laws
 for themselves. And yet this is one of the
 things which the Preacher makes to be an *In-*
sult on the Priesthood and the whole Ecclesiastical
Office ; and complains that, according to the
 Author of *the Rights*, *there is no such thing as*
Power in the Church, but what is deriv’d from
the Magistrate ; nay, less than in any petty Cor-
poration : which is supposing that the Church
 has lost all its Power since the 25 H. 8. c. 19.
 And our Preacher does not think it enough to
 claim for the Priests a Divine Power incon-
 sistent with the Laws of the Land, but con-
 demns the Author of *the Rights* as guilty of
Sedition, nay of a *Seditious Furious Assault* on
 the Clergy, for endeavouring to justify the
 Laws which will not allow ’em to be Magi-
 strates

strates by Divine Right, as our Preacher sup- P. 12.
poses they are.

But if Sedition signifys defending the legal Constitution of the Church against the Usurpation of the pretended *Jure Divino* Magistrates, he will never be asham'd to be thought seditious in that sense; nay, his Zeal for the Church will never suffer him to be an idle Spectator, when those Laws which are the Bulwark of our Ecclesiastical Libertys are so much reflected on, tho he shou'd as much provoke the whole Body of Ecclesiasticks, as Dr. *Standish* did in *Henry VIII's* time, in pleading against the Divine Rights of Holy Mother Church. And that Excellent Person had felt the Force of the united Fury of the Clergy, had not the Lords and Commons become his Protectors; in doing of which they defended their own and their Posterity's Rights: but had they given him up to the Clergy, they who know how to make the best of such tame Concessions, wou'd not only have kept on the old, but daily added new Loads of Oppression. For who then wou'd have ventur'd to oppose their Pretences, tho ever so extravagant, when he shou'd be given up by those very Persons, for whose sake, and in whose defence he wrote? But as it was the danger of provoking a Party, so strongly united in all things where Interest had to do, which made Popery slide down so glibly; so when Men saw they cou'd with safety write against Priestcraft, the Reformation was unavoidable.

Hist. Ref.
B. I. p. 16.
Dr. Wake's
Authority
of Christi-
an Princes,
p. 289.

And our Ecclesiastical Constitution, Laws,
and Libertys being settled by those, who hav-
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ing groan'd under the insupportable Burden of Priestcraft, knew best how to fence against it; if ever the Priests are able to carry it with so high a hand, as that Men can't with Impunity write in defence of these Sacred Establishments, the Nation is in no small danger of being brought under as cruel Ecclesiastical Tyranny as that of the Bishop of *Rome* and his Adherents: unless we can suppose, when we see Men take the same Methods as they did to get and gather to themselves the Government of the World, that they have not the same Design. But what else can they mean, by being not only thus outrageous against a Book which they can't accuse of misrepresenting the Constitution; but by claiming for themselves, even when they write against it, such Powers as are inconsistent with the whole Tenour of the Laws?

As this is all our Preacher has from Reason to object to *the Rights of the Church*, which is in a manner made up of Arguments wholly drawn from thence, and the Author has only hinted at Scripture-Proofs, which are reserv'd to be fully handled in the Second Part; so our Preacher does not endeavour to shew that the Author of *the Rights* has mistaken the Sense of those Texts he quotes: and consequently his producing of other Texts in opposition to 'em, can only amount to an Endeavour to make Scripture inconsistent with it self as well as with Reason. But however they shall be consider'd.

P. 17.

What he argues from the Old Testament, is only by way of Parity, and amounts, as far as I can perceive, only to this, That because the
Priests

Priests who serv'd at the Altar were appointed by God under the *Law*; therefore the Ministers under the *Gospel* must be constituted by one another.

There cou'd be no Pretence for two distinct Powers among the *Jews*, one deriv'd from God, and t'other from Man; for their Commonwealth was a perfect Theocracy, and God their King, who when he accepted the Administration of their Affairs Civil as well as Ecclesiastical, did not deprive 'em of the Liberty which by the Law of Nature he allow'd Mankind of appointing their own Governours; since God, before he gave 'em any political Laws, was chosen to be their King by the express Consent of all the People. And nothing can be more particularly set down, or more solemnly express'd, than the Manner of his Exod. 19. Election, and the Original Contract between Deut. 5. King and People. And *Moses*, when he recites the Law, mentions this Original Contract Ibid. as the Foundation of it. And had the *Jews* consider'd, That it was the House of *Israel* alone which made the *Horeb* Contract, and consequently were alone bound by it, they had not been for imposing their Laws on the rest of Mankind; especially if they had consider'd, that to prevent all Mistakes of this nature, God, like other Kings, annex'd only temporal Sanctions to his Laws; there not being the least mention of any future Rewards and Punishments. So that this Precedent, which the Clergy so much insist on, makes directly against 'em; and if they will argue from it, must conclude against any more than one Power in a Nation, to whom it must belong to appoint

appoint all the Ecclesiastical Officers who are to officiate in the Legal Church, and to determine all other matters relating to it: And consequently, that all who will not submit to the present legal Bishops, are guilty of the same sort of Crime as *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram* were, in opposing the High Priest among the *Jews*, made by their King by an Authority deriv'd from the People. And one wou'd think no Clergyman ought to take that Title as an Affront or an open Insult on the Order, which God was pleas'd to accept for his Kingship over the *Jewish* Nation.

As for the *Jewish* Kings not having a Right to make any Alteration in the Legal Establishment about Sacrifices and Sacrificers, it only shews their Power was as much limited in Ecclesiasticals as in Civils, where they cou'd make no Change contrary to the Law establish'd by virtue of the *Horeb* Contract. But tho the *Jewish* Law limited the Priesthood to the Tribe of *Levi*, and the High Priesthood to the Family of *Aaron*; yet their Kings, because in that unlimited, cou'd put in and turn out those of that Tribe and Family as they saw occasion: Which tho it may in some sort serve for a Parallel for our Kings, who can no more alter the Law about making Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, than about any other matter; yet there can be no arguing from the limited Power of the Kings of *Israel* to our Legislature, who are not confin'd in their Choice of Priests to any Family, Tribe, or Nation. And if Christ did not deprive 'em of any of their Powers, which our Divines, at least till of late, unanimously
own

own he did not; they must have the same Power relating to Ecclesiasticals as well as Civils since Christ's coming, which they had before.

But since among Christians there are in a proper sense no Priests, except only our Eternal High Priest, who offer'd himself up once for all, and was both Priest and Sacrifice; and in an improper sense all Christians are alike Priests, as alike offering up the Christian Sacrifices of Prayers and Praises: all Arguments from the *Jewish* Priesthood must be very inconclusive in relation to the Christian Ministry. And if our Preacher wou'd have drawn any Parallel, it ought to have been from such things in the *Jewish* as bear some resemblance to those in the Christian Church: And he might have better argu'd from the Practice of the Synagogues (where, as in our Churches, Prayers were offer'd up, the Law and Prophets read, with Preaching upon them) and from the *Jewish* manner of Excommunication, or turning out of the Synagogues; and from their way of celebrating the Passover, and of Circumcising, and of Baptizing. But as to the Synagogue-Worship, God, as King of the *Jews*, no otherwise interpos'd than by ordering there shou'd be Holy Synagogues in the Land; and consequently the People were at liberty to determine of all things relating to that Worship. And the Rulers and other Officers of the Synagogue had no Power except what they deriv'd from the People, who might take them out of what Tribe they pleas'd, or make what Rules they thought fit for admitting and depriving 'em. As to their Excommu-

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nication,

nication, that Punishment not being ordain'd of God, but taken up by the *Jews* themselves at the *Babylonish* Captivity, they were at liberty to trust this Power in what Hands they pleas'd, and to make what Regulations they thought fit about it. And as to Circumcision, tho that was appointed by God himself, yet there was no necessity for a Priest to perform the Operation, nor was his Presence any more requir'd in celebrating the Passover. Then as to Baptism (a Rite us'd not only upon those who being converted from Heathenism were initiated into the Religion of the *Hebrews*, but the different Sects among 'em baptiz'd likewise the Profelytes of their own Nation) there was nothing more requir'd, as appears from the *Jewish* Writers, than that it shou'd be done by day, and before a competent number of Witnesses. So that if the old *Levites* were now in being, they wou'd condemn these new as vile Hypocrites, for endeavouring, from the Practice of the *Jews*, to put a Yoke on Christians in such things as the *Jews* themselves were at liberty to manage as they thought fit.

The Liberty which the Gospel recommends, consists not in exempting Christians from any Moral Dutys, but in not tying 'em up otherwise than by their own Agreement to any particular Modes or Circumstantials of Religion. And by the arguing of *St. Paul*, the placing any part of Religion in such things, tends to make void the Death of Christ, and to render our pure and spiritual Religion a Bondage, a Servitude, and carnal, like that of the *Jews*. But because these Matters will be fully handled
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in the Second Part of *the Rights of the Church*, I shall now only observe, that as among the *Jews* all who were capable, as all were except the very meanest of the People, had a Liberty to preach or teach in their publick Assemblies; so this Liberty mainly contributed to the propagating of the Christian Religion, because it gave Christ and his Apostles a legal Right to preach both in the Temple and Synagogues. Which Right was so fix'd, that tho the *Jews* look'd on Christ as *Accurs'd* and a *Magician*, Joh. 9. 22. and excommunicated all who confess'd him, 12. 42. insomuch that none of the Rulers, except he who came to him by night, durst own him; Joh. 7. 3. and at last they caus'd him to be put to death as an Impostor, and kill'd some of his Disciples, and imprison'd others: yet they never deny'd Christ or any of his Followers the common Right of the *Jews*, to teach in the Temple or Synagogues. And it was by this common Right that *Paul* and *Barnabas* taught in Acts 13. 14. the Synagogue at *Antioch* in *Pisidia*, where they were unknown, as well as in others where they were known. And tho the Chief Priests once forbad the Apostles to preach in the Name of Christ, yet they never forbad 'em to preach at all; which certainly they won'd have done, had there been the least colour for it from the Discipline then in practice. And not only the Apostles preach'd by virtue of this common Liberty, but the whole Church, or all the Brethren, of whom there were three thousand converted at once: For the Text says, *The Church was scatter'd abroad, and they* Acts 8. 1. *who were so scatter'd, preach'd the Word*; which 11. 19. they did far and near, and made Converts at *Phenice*,

Phenice, Cyprus, and Antioch. And as the Epistles are full of Commands to the Brethren to speak in their Assemblies, so many are com-
 Phil. 1. 14. mended *for speaking the Word without fear.* And if the *Jewish* Converts, zealous of all their Rights and Privileges, retain'd this Liberty of Preaching, which requir'd some Skill and Ability, there's no doubt they maintain'd their Liberty in other things: And we see that by virtue of it not only *John* and his Disciples, but Christ's Disciples, baptiz'd as well as preach'd, without being condemn'd or censur'd by the *Jews*.

If our Saviour did not deprive the People, either Collective or Representative, of any of their Rights, they have the same power of determining all those Matters relating to Religion, which require a special Determination, as they had before his Coming. To suppose he took this from them, and unalterably plac'd it in any particular Set of Men, and oblig'd People to submit to 'em under the Sanction of Eternal Punishments, wou'd be a setting up an Ecclesiastical Kingdom in this World, tho he declar'd his Kingdom was not of this World. But our Saviour, as he was only in a private Station, so he comply'd with the Customs of his Nation in all things which were not only ordain'd by *Moses*, but brought in afterwards, whether they related to Ecclesiasticals or to Civils, and communicated with the *Jewish* Church during his whole Life; and consequently the Clergy cannot from his Example, if they will be content to take that for a Precedent, refuse to submit in Ecclesiasticals as well as Civils to the Laws of
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the Country where they are Subjects, provided they are such as they can in Conscience comply with.

Our Saviour not only set his Followers this Precedent, but forbid 'em, on pretence of being his Disciples, to claim any Power, either what was exercis'd by the Supreme or by the Inferiour Magistrates. To say Christ speaks here of Civil Power only, is to have made him talk very unintelligibly, because then neither among the *Jews* nor Heathens was there any such thing as two distinct Independent Powers; nay, our Saviour thought it impossible, when he says that *no Man can serve two Masters*. And this Prohibition being occasion'd by reason of the Contest which happen'd between the Disciples, who shou'd be greatest in Christ's Kingdom, must relate to Ecclesiasticals as well as Civils; unless we can suppose they imagin'd Christ's Kingdom had nothing to do with the former: Nay, how can we think that all Power is not forbid 'em, when we find all Superiority is, in telling 'em, that *he who will be Chief amongst you, let him be your Servant; and he who will be Great, let him be your Minister?* Luk. 22. 25
Mat. 20. 25

And our Saviour, to prevent his Disciples assuming any Power to themselves, tells 'em to whom they are to be subject, by bidding 'em *do and observe whatsoever the Scribes and Pharisees who sat in Moses's Seat commanded 'em to do and observe*. And it cannot be pretended, that they related to Civil Matters only, because the *Romans* for the most part reserv'd these to their own disposal; and consequently the Power of the *Scribes and Pharisees* chiefly Mat. 20.
26, 27.
Chap. 23.
2, 3.

chiefly related to those Ecclesiastical things which concern'd the National Church.

I suppose it will be granted me, by all who consider what Obedience Christ paid to the Governours of the *Jewish* Church, as well as what he commands his Disciples to render 'em, that he did not design to make their turning Christians, if they cou'd have been prevail'd on, a Forfeiture of any of their former Rights and Privileges; which it must have been, if the Government of the Church was plac'd by him in the Apostles: for then the High Priest himself (whom *St. Paul*, even *Acts 23. 5.* while he was persecuting him, owns to be Ruler of the People) must have lost all his Power. But he and the Family of *Aaron*, with the whole Tribe of *Levi*, wou'd have been mere Laymen, and reduc'd to a starving Condition, by being depriv'd of their Tithes, if by Divine Right they belong'd to the Christian Clergy; and the Rulers of the Synagogues, with all those who were vested with the Power of Excommunication (us'd almost in all Causes which the *Romans* permitted to the Cognizance of the *Jews*) wou'd be depriv'd of their Jurisdiction, and the Grand *Sanhedrim* it self wou'd have little or no Power left, and the People in general have lost their Right of determining all such things as God had left undetermin'd, and which requir'd a special Determination. But 'tis plain the *Jews* apprehended no such Design in Christ and his Apostles, since they no where accuse 'em of it; and they who can suppose so absurd a thing, afford the *Jews* a specious Pretence to justify the

the Actions of their Predecessors, as if done in their own defence.

The Apostles, 'tis plain, were so far from giving the least Suspicion of this nature, that they communicated with the *Jewish* Church, and consequently own'd the Government and Discipline of it, and submitted to the Jurisdiction of the Rulers and Elders, as their being admitted into their Synagogues necessarily supposes: and the Separation, which happen'd at last, was not occasion'd by any Dispute about Church-Government, but because the *Jews* continu'd to blaspheme our Saviour, and to persecute those who believ'd; which oblig'd 'em to frame such a Discipline among themselves, as was most proper for the Circumstances they were then under.

Had the Apostles any such Power as their pretended Successors lay claim to, they wou'd, no doubt, have preach'd that up as well as any other Doctrine of Christianity; and not have betray'd their own and their Successors Rights, when in pleading before the Tribunal of their Enemys, they us'd no other Defence than what is the Right of every private Man, *'Tis better* Acts 4.18, *to obey God than Man.* And if this was so with 19. the *Jews*, other Nations no doubt were invited to embrace Christianity on the same terms; and consequently there were not to be two Independent Powers to be set up amongst 'em: And in all the Precepts given for obeying their Governours, we find no Reservation for such a Power. Tho the *Romans* publicly expos'd the High Priesthood to Sale, which was sometimes confer'd on others besides the Family of *Aaron*; nay, we have Instances of their

making two at a time, and that annually, as *Annas* and *Caiaphas* were: yet we don't find that our Saviour or his Apostles scrupled to acknowledg those High Priests whom the *Romans* put in or turn'd out at pleasure, without the concurrence of any Ecclesiasticks; and I shou'd be glad to know what Privileges the succeeding Christians had above Christ and his Apostles.

And thus having given a short account of these Matters, reserving the handling 'em more largely to the Second Part; I shall now consider our Preacher's Arguments for proving that God has depriv'd the Church, or Partys concern'd, of the Right (which if not otherwise provided for, of course belongs to them) of appointing their own Ecclesiastical Officers, and of determining all such Church-matters as require a special Determination, and of vesting this Power unalterably in a particular Set of Men.

P. 9.

And this he endeavours chiefly to prove from *Mat.* 28. 18—20. and *Joh.* 20. 23. As to the first he says, “ Some time after the Resurrection our Blessed Saviour speaks to his eleven Disciples thus: *All Power is given to me in Heaven and in Earth; Go therefore and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo! I am with you to the End of the World, πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἕως συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος*: which words, if rightly translated, signify all the Days to the End of the Age; but he says *Ἄϊων* here denotes the Time of the Messiah, “ after which there is
 † “ no

“ no further Declaration of the Will of God.
 “ Our Saviour therefore promis’d to be with
 “ them to the End of the World ; then
 “ this Promise reaches the Successors of the
 “ Apostles, as well as themselves. Teaching
 “ and Initiating by Baptism are here men-
 “ tion’d.

If Christ’s being with the Apostles all the Days to the End of the Age, is to signify other Persons besides the Apostles, and all other Ages and Days as well as theirs ; it’s gross Partiality to confine it to the Clergy only, by whose Conduct it does not appear that Christ is more with them than with the Laity. The interpreting this Phrase to give the Apostles a Power to appoint their Successors, and those Successors to appoint others to the End of the World, and that it belongs to them exclusively of all others to preach and baptize, is no Argument of Christ’s being with ’em ; and they who interpret Scripture at this rate, may make any thing of it, except what really it is : since this Phrase of *being with Men* is of the same import as walking with them, never leaving or forsaking them, being in the midst of them ; and import God’s peculiar Care and watchful Providence over them to whom this Promise is made, whether they are the Apostles only, or all those who in all Ages shou’d embrace that Gospel they were commanded to teach : Tho if *for ever, till the coming of our Lord*, and such-like Scripture-Expressions, extend no further than the Persons they are spoken to, tho they do not live for ever, or till the coming of the Lord ; why must this Promise be further extended than

the Persons of the Apostles, and the Days of the Age they were to live and spend in that Employ, of revealing to Mankind what Christ had commanded 'em, which being personal, they cou'd have no Successors, and for the sake of which the Promise was given? 'Tis after this ridiculous manner that the Papists talk, when they affirm, that the Successors of the Apostles are infallible as well as the Apostles, because Christ says to them, who cou'd not live for ever, *that he wou'd send them the Comforter, who shou'd lead 'em into all Truth, and abide with 'em for ever.* Nor can I believe Clergymen think this Command of teaching all Nations reaches to them, till I see 'em hazard their Persons as the Apostles did, in going from place to place, to preach to Infidels. And if a Power in the Apostles to appoint Successors, and those to appoint others to the End of the World, does not appear from any thing our Saviour had said to his Apostles antecedent to this Commission, which extends no further than to command 'em to teach such things as he had before enjoin'd; I can't see how they cou'd have any such Power, since I don't find they had any other Commission.

And now we will see whether this Command of Teaching and Baptizing here given to the Eleven Disciples, was exclusive of all others. It was, no doubt, impossible any shou'd know what Christ commanded the Apostles to teach, till they had taught it; but after that we find the Brethren preach'd the Word as well as the Apostles. And there can be no pretence that Baptizing was more limited than Preaching,

ing, or that the Brethren did not baptize those they converted: nay, 'tis plain that the Apostles did not understand this Command of Baptizing, as if they themselves were oblig'd to do it, but only that they shou'd teach the doing it; and we see that *Cornelius* with his Family was baptiz'd by the Brethren, tho *Peter* was present. Nay, it does not appear in all the Acts of the Apostles, that the Apostles themselves baptiz'd any of their numerous Converts; and *St. Paul*, tho he baptiz'd a few at *Corinth*, yet he made this Protestation, that *Christ sent him not to baptize, but to preach.* 2 Cor. 1. 14, 17.

If none can teach and baptize except the Successors of the Apostles, how came Deacons, who are allow'd to do both, to be Successors of the Apostles, when we find they were only constituted to look after the Poor? and consequently, in Teaching and Baptizing they acted by no other Right than what was in common to all Christians, from whom they were no otherwise distinguish'd than by their Office of *serving of Tables*; and in that indeed they were the Successors of the Apostles, who quitted that Imploy, that they might the better attend on Preaching the Gospel.

Nothing can be more precarious, than to make, as our Divines generally do, Bishops in some things Successors of the Apostles exclusive of Presbyters, and Presbyters in some exclusive of Deacons, and Deacons in others exclusive of the People: tho if only the Successors of the Apostles were capable of baptizing, every one wou'd be their Successors;

since it has been the Voice of the Church in all Ages, that Baptism, by whomsoever done, was valid and not to be reiterated; which cou'd not be, if the Power of doing it was not left in common, but God had appropriated to particular Officers, as Successors of the Apostles, the admitting People into the Church by Baptism: for then Admission by them wou'd be of the Essence of Baptism, because they alone were authoriz'd to do it; especially if they represent God, as the present Cant is, and by virtue of that Representation transact Covenants in his Name; because no one can represent God, or transact Covenants in his Name, except he whom God himself has appointed for that end.

Besides, I wou'd be glad to know how they who only sprinkle an Infant, incapable for some years to be taught, can pretend to be the Apostles Successors in Teaching, and then in Baptizing, or Dipping, as that Word in Scripture always signifies, those they have taught? Or how can they who think themselves at liberty to make so great a Change, contrary to the express Text, pretend, when they have no Text to countenance it, that they, as Successors of the Apostles, have the sole Right to baptize?

As this Text is sufficient, in our Preacher's Judgment, to deprive all except such as the Successors of the Apostles have authoris'd, from the Right of Teaching and Baptizing:

P. 15. so from these words, *Whosoever Sins ye re-*
 Joh. 20. 23 *mit shall be remitted, and whosoever Sins ye re-*
 Mat. 18. 18. *tain shall be retain'd; and whatsoever ye shall*
bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven, and
whatsoever

whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth, shall be loos'd in Heaven; he wou'd have it thought that the Power of Excommunication, and of all Church-Censures, belongs by Divine Right to the Clergy, as Successors of the Apostles: because it can, as he says, *be rationally understood of nothing but the Exercise of Acts of Authority and Jurisdiction.*

But if there be no words by which Successors may be infer'd, let what will be convey'd in these words, it's impossible to prove they belong to any besides those to whom they were spoken; because Matters of Favour and Grace may be given to some and not to others, tho they are both in the same Circumstances. But did not the Circumstances of the Apostles differ almost infinitely from those of the present Clergy? Are they sent as Christ sent the Apostles, when he breath'd on 'em, and gave 'em the Holy Ghost, saying, *As the Father sent me, so send I you*? Are they infallibly led into all Truth? Have they the Faculty of discerning of Spirits, of giving the Holy Ghost, of working Miracles? Do they, when in their warm Benefices they make such Harangues as these on that Gospel which is now in every one's hands, reveal a new Gospel to all Nations with the hazard of their Lives, as the Apostles did?

Besides, such an Implication as this can never take from the Church or People the natural Right they have of judging Offences, and of avoiding those who commit 'em, which belongs to them by virtue of that natural Liberty they have over their own Actions; and consequently to deprive 'em of this Right,
there

P. 13.

there ought to be produc'd a Law, as plain and exprefs as the Law of Nature which gives it 'em. But instead of that, he has not given the least proof, that the Power of Binding and Loosing relates to Excommunication, which by a great number of Texts the Author of *the Rights* has prov'd to belong to the Church, or Body of the Faithful; of which he has taken no notice, except it be included in his saying, *Paul deliver'd the Incestuous Corinthian over to Satan, and afterwards forgave him; and by virtue of that Forgiveness, ratify'd that Absolution which the Church of Corinth had pronounc'd before.*

1 Cor. 5.

But had *Paul* by his own Authority deliver'd over to Satan the Incestuous *Corinthian*, how came the Church of *Corinth* assembled together to have a Right to absolve him whom *St. Paul* alone had condemn'd? This had been in them the highest Sacrilege, and *St. Paul* wou'd not, nor cou'd not ratify an invalid Sentence given by an incompetent Authority, tho he might pronounce a new one. A Ratification must either suppose an Appeal brought by the Person who had receiv'd the Benefit of the Absolution; or else that, to make the Sentence valid, 'twas necessary *St. Paul* and the People of *Corinth* shou'd concur. But *St. Paul* supposes the People of *Corinth* had a power to deliver the *Corinthian* over to Satan, otherwise he wou'd never have blam'd them for not doing it, or have encourag'd 'em to do it, by telling 'em that tho he was absent in Body, yet he was present in Spirit or Mind; that therefore they shou'd, when gather'd together with his Spirit, that is, as if he

he were present and voting amongst 'em, deliver such a one over to Satan. And to interpret any thing in this Chapter, as if the People had not a Power to judg of Offences, and to punish the Offender by separating from him, wou'd be to make the Apostle contradict himself; because, as he says, *God is to judg them without*, so he says, *They are to judg them within*: And accordingly, he bad them exercise that Judgment, in putting away not only that wicked Person, but all other Brethren they shou'd judg to be Covetous, Drunkards, Railers, Fornicators, &c.

It's said, that tho the People are to judg, yet theirs is only a private Judgment of Discretion. But if they must judg and act according to this Judgment of Discretion, by avoiding those they judg to be ill Men, this vests the Power of Excommunication in them.

And we find, that 'tis they who *are to warn the Unruly, and to see that none render Evil for Evil, to mark those who cause Offences, and to avoid them*; and 'tis the Brethren, the Spiritual Brethren, who *are to restore one taken in a Fault*. Nay, the Power of absolving the incestuous Corinthian was so fully in the People of Corinth, that St. Paul uses both Arguments and Intreatys to persuade 'em to forgive him, and to remit the Punishment inflicted of the many.

1 Thess. 4.
14, 15.
Rom. 16.
17.
Gal. 6. 1.

2 Cor. 2.

As this shews the Clergy can claim no Power by Divine Right in inflicting Church-Censures; so the Power of the Keys, or of Binding and Loosing, seems to consist in another thing, as will appear from the Occasion of our Saviour's first mentioning it to St.

St. Peter, which was to reward him for acknowledging him to be *the Christ, the Son of the living God*: for upon his owning it, our Saviour declares him to be a Rock on which he will build his Church; and then adds these

Mar. 16. 19 words, *I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever Thou shalt bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever Thou shalt loose on Earth shall be loos'd in Heaven*: that is, he wou'd entrust him with publishing that Gospel, which is the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, which if People believe and practise, Heaven's Gates shall be unlock'd to 'em by him, the happy Instrument of bringing 'em into the way of Salvation; but if they obstinately refuse, Heaven's Gates shall be shut against 'em. And as this Promise, the greatest which cou'd be made to Mortals, was first given to St. Peter, so he was the first who publish'd the Glad Tidings of Salvation both to *Jews and Gentiles*. But as the rest of the Apostles were likewise the Ministers of Reconciliation, and propagated the Gospel to all Nations; so the same Power is confer'd on them, with this difference, that what is call'd Binding and Loosing in one place, is call'd Retaining and Remitting in the other. And that this is the meaning of one place as well as the other, is plain from St. Mark, who makes our Saviour express the same thing in other words, in saying to his Disciples, *Go into the World, and preach the Gospel to every Creature; He who believes and is baptiz'd shall be sav'd, and he who believes not shall be damn'd*. So that 'tis evident, none had the Power of the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven,

Heaven, in so full and ample a manner as the Apostles; and consequently, whether this Power taken in a more limited sense be confin'd to the Clergy, is the sole Question.

To which the memorable Mr. *Hales* shall answer for me, who says, "The Answer is
 "in no case hard to give, perchance it may
 "be dangerous; for there is a Generation of
 "Men in the World, the Clergy they call
 "them, who impropriate the Keys to them-
 "selves, and wou'd be very angry, shou'd o-
 "thers from themselves claim a Right to
 "them. ——— Every one, so far forth as he
 "has Understanding in the ways of Life, has
 "now the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven
 "committed to him both for his own and o-
 "thers use. Every one, of what State or
 "Condition soever, that hath any occasion
 "offer'd him to serve another in the way of
 "Life, Clergy or Laity, Male or Female,
 "whatsoever he be, hath the Keys not only
 "for himself, but the Benefit of others. And
 I may add, That the poor Captive Maid, who
 converted the *Iberians*, made better use of the
 Keys, than Millions of that Generation of
 Men call'd the Clergy have done. But this
 Good Man goes on, and says, "Sir (speaking
 to a Popish Priest) "be not angry to see o-
 "thers join with you in part of your Charge;
 "I wou'd all the Lord's People did preach,
 "and that every Man did think himself
 "bound to discharge a part of the common
 "Good, and make account that the Care of
 "others Souls concern'd him as well as his
 "own. When the Apostles took order to
 "ordain some, upon whom the publick Bur-
 "den

Hales's
Power of
the Keys.

*Ruffin. l. i.
c. 10.*

“den of the Gospel shou’d lie, it was not
 “their purpose to appropriate the thing to
 “those Persons alone. But I remit the Reader to the Book, where he will see a great deal more to the same intent ; tho I can’t omit to take notice, that he demands of his Adversary, who pretends to a Judicial Power, “What
 “Active, what Judiciary part can any Minister of the Gospel have in Binding? For
 “when a Man falls into Mortal Sin, does the
 “Gate of Heaven stand open to him, till he
 “falls on some curst Priest (for so the Good Man expresses himself) “that uses his Key to
 “shut it? And if turning one out of the Church be binding of his Sins, keeping one in the Church must be loosening ’em ; and consequently every man’s Salvation or Damnation depends on the Clergy’s keeping in or turning him out of the Church.

And here I might ask the Preacher, whether this Venerable Man does not as much insult the Priesthood as the Author of *the Rights* ; since he overthrows the whole Foundation on which he builds all the Jurisdiction of the Priest, in making the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven to be the Doctrine of the Gospel. The Popish Priests endeavour to keep these Keys to themselves, by excluding the Laity from the Scripture: but ’tis to be hop’d that the Protestant Laity will not have so much Complaisance for their Priests, as to part with these Keys which the Infinite Goodness of God has put into their hands, or, which is the same thing, not to use ’em as in their Conscience they judg they ought, lest thereby they *virtually throw aside the Scriptures.*

That

That the Power of Binding and Loosing is not confin'd to any particular Set of Men, is plain from *Mat. 18.* where our Saviour gives Directions how a private Man is to behave himself in case his Brother trespass against him; and the Steps he is to take are these: First he is to endeavour to persuade him in private to do him justice, then to take with him one or two more; and if he neglect to hear them, then he is to tell it to the Church or Congregation. And as an Encouragement to private Persons to take this Method, our Saviour adds, *Whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth shall be loos'd in Heaven:* that is, Whosoever after he has been thus dealt with remains obstinate, he will be bound in Heaven; but if he repents, you have gain'd a Soul, or you have caus'd him to be loos'd in Heaven. And our Saviour's Advice seems to be built upon this Precept in the Law, *Thou shalt not hate thy Brother in thy heart; thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy Neighbour, and not suffer Sin upon him:* so that which is *Loosing* in one place, is *not suffering Sin upon him* in another. And 'tis in this sense *St. Peter* takes it, because he immediately asks how often one must forgive his Brother. And that this was the sense of Binding and Loosing among those to whom our Saviour spoke, is plain from the *Jewish* Writers, with whom that Phrase is most frequent; and those amongst them, whose business it was to tell Men what was lawful, and what was unlawful, were call'd *Doctores Ligandi & Solvendi*. Had our Saviour meant here a Power to exclude

clude Men from the Lord's Supper, 'twas impossible he shou'd be understood, because That was not then instituted; and he wou'd have been as little understood, if he had meant by *tell the Church*, go to Law in the Bishops Courts (instituted long after) for matters of Trespafs. And if the Fathers expound this Text thus, as may be seen from *Grotius* and *Dr. Whitby* on this place, the Presumption is, that 'tis scarce capable of another sense. And I may add, that in the Form of Coronation of *Charles I.* compos'd by the Archbishop, Bishop *Laud*, and other Bishops, there's a Clause in one of the Prayers to give him (the King) Peter's *Keys of Discipline*, and Paul's of *Doctrin*; which had been a very wicked Prayer, had they with our Preacher believ'd that the Keys either of Discipline or Doctrin belong'd by Divine Right to the Clergy, who were then so fond of this Form of Coronation, that they design'd to have made it perpetual.

Heylin's
Life of
ABpLaud,
P. 135,
136.

Our Preacher, who is most confident where he is most mistaken, says with his usual Oratory; *When our Saviour told his Apostles three several times, when upon Earth, that the (up-right) Sentence given by the proper Officer below shou'd be ratify'd above, did he not certainly know his own Mind, especially in a matter intirely in his own power? And if so, what have we to do to contradict it? Are these things to be found in Scripture, or are they not? If they are, why shou'd we be unwilling to receive this any more than the other Commandments of Jesus Christ? We see therefore the Necessary which those*

P. 16, 17.

those who cast off all Church-Power are under to make Religion only a Human Institution.

This is in effect saying, unless you will call Mr. *Wotton* Master, and own him to be an infallible Interpreter of Scripture, even when what he dictates appears infinitely absurd, you necessarily destroy all Religion. The Pope is not so assuming; he allows those who differ from him still to be Christians: whereas if you differ from our infallible Preacher, you straitway become a mere Infidel; nay, under a necessity of making Religion only a Human Institution.

And now having shewn those Texts on which Mr. *Wotton* endeavours to build a Divine Right in the Clergy, to inflict Censures and execute all Church-Offices exclusively of all others, if not to make against, yet not to be for him; the Church still retains her Right to appoint all her Officers, and to determine all Matters relating to Discipline, as they judg most proper for the End for which that was instituted. And all Precedents, the only thing which can be urg'd where Laws are wanting, drawn from the Practice of the primitive Church, will not prove it so much as lawful, in Circumstances so widely different from theirs, to conform to 'em. But however, I shall consider his Instances, tho not without first taking notice, that tho he says Christ appointed a perpetual Priesthood to administer the Sacraments, yet he does not offer so much as one Precedent to prove that Christians at first receiv'd the Sacrament from the hands of the Clergy: And indeed how cou'd they, since, as *Ter-*

tullian observes, the receiving it so was one of the Innovations of After-times, the Lord committing it not to a certain Order of Men, but to all Christians in general *?

As for our Preacher's Instances about Baptism, did he not assume to himself a Power to *make* Scripture, they wou'd be directly against him ; for he says the Apostles ordain'd Deacons *not only to take care of the Poor, but also to baptize New Converts*. Either he has a Bible different from every body's, or else he is guilty of a downright Forgery, in adding a Power of Baptizing to the Commission of the Deacons ; because in the sixth of the *Acts*, where they have their Commission, we find no such Power granted 'em. So for the same

P. 8. reason he alters the Scripture in another place, *Acts* 10. 47 and says, *Peter* baptiz'd *Cornelius* and his Company, tho the Text only says he commanded it. Indeed I ought to do him this

P. 10. piece of Justice as to observe, that within two Pages he contradicts himself, and says *Peter's* Assistants baptiz'd 'em. But as the Scripture no where calls the Brethren, who accompany'd *Peter* from *Joppa*, his Assistants ; so if it had, that wou'd not have prov'd they were ordain'd, since the Great Apostle of the

Rom. 16. *Gentiles* calls *Priscilla*, a Tentmaker's Wife, 13. *his Helper in Christ Jesus*.

Our Preacher, loth to have it thought, that not only the first Converts of the *Gentiles*,

* Eucharistiæ Sacramentum & in tempore victus & omnibus mandatum a Domino, etiam antelucanis Cœtibus, nec de aliorum manibus nisi Præsidentium sumimus. *Tertul. de Corona Milit.*

but even their great Preacher was baptiz'd by a Layman, says, *That as Interpreters generally agree, Ananias who baptiz'd St. Paul was ordain'd, so there was a very antient Tradition, that he was one of the Seventy Disciples. And since God thought fit not to go out of the common Road in the Ceremony of Initiation in this miraculous Case, we can't reasonably suppose he wou'd go out of that Road in the Choice of the Person who was to perform this Ceremony.*

If the common Road among the Jews, from whom this Ceremony was borrow'd, was to have it left in common, and our Preacher has offer'd nothing to shew it was chang'd, *Ananias's* baptizing, tho only a bare Disciple, was not going out of the common Road. And I may as well argue, that if 'twas lawful for none to baptize except one ordain'd, or for none to lay on Hands except a Bishop, as *Ananias* did both; the Holy Ghost, to prevent a Mistake in a matter of this consequence, wou'd have call'd him Bishop instead of a *certain Disciple*. That did not require so many words to express it, as saying, *One Ananias,* Acts 22.12 *a devout Man according to the Law, having a good Report of all the Jews who dwelt at Damascus.* At least in the Vision *Paul* had of the *Man* nam'd *Ananias*, he wou'd have appear'd in his *Pontificalibus*. But suppose *Ananias* to have been one of the Seventy, their Commission, which was only temporary, as appears from *Luke* 10. 17. cou'd not, after it was expir'd, have authoriz'd him to baptize *Paul*.

Besides, if the Seventy did baptize, that not being in their Commission, they did it by

the common Right of Disciples. And if, as
 Annot. on Dr. *Whitby* observes, our Saviour's Disciples
 Joh. 7. 22. did not baptize into the Name of Christ, or
 exact a Belief that he was the Christ, for he
 forbad his Disciples to divulge that till he
 Mat. 16. was risen from the Dead; they cou'd only
 20. baptize, as *John* and his Disciples had done,
 into the Faith of the *Messiah* who was to
 come. And if those who were baptiz'd with
John's Baptism were baptiz'd afresh into the
 Name of *Jesus* after the Resurrection, as the
 P. 9. Preacher rightly observes from *Acts* 19.
Ananias's Commission to baptize, as one of
 the Seventy, cou'd extend only to the first
 Baptism, and not to that instituted after the
 Resurrection.

To prove that none can preach without
 P. 10, 11. Ordination, he says, *That St. Paul, tho he had*
a Celestial Mission, yet when he was sent abroad
to preach the Gospel, was particularly ordain'd
or consecrated by the Apostles. Before that in-
deed, St. Paul had publickly declar'd what won-
derful things God had wrought for him in his
Conversion, and had disputed with the unbeliev-
ing Jews, as any other private Christian might
do; yet still he had no solemn Mission. And
therefore when the Holy Ghost commanded the
Apostles to separate Paul and Barnabas for the
Work to which he had call'd 'em, they fasted and
pray'd, and laid their hands upon 'em, and sent
'em forth.

If *St. Paul* was a private Christian before
 this Mission, it is plain, private Christians
 cou'd preach the Gospel: For upon his Con-
 version, he straitway preach'd Christ in the Sy-
 Acts 9. 26 nagogues. And before this Mission *Paul* and
Barnabas

Barnabas for a whole year together assembled Acts 11.26. themselves with the Church, and taught much People; and the Disciples were call'd Christians first at Antioch. Why this was not as much Preaching as any thing St. Paul did afterward, I can see no reason. Nothing besides our Preacher's taking his Sentiments, not from the Bible, which one wou'd be apt to think he never read, but from Systems of Divinity, cou'd make him talk thus; for these allow private Christians to dispute, but not to preach: and therefore he thought that he might safely venture to say, Paul did not preach, but only dispute; tho Preaching in the Scripture-Sense of the Word is by Disputing (the best method of convincing Gain-sayers) or any other way proving Jesus to be the *Messiah*. And these Systems not allowing an Inferior Order to ordain or consecrate to a Superior Order, makes him affirm, that it was the Apostles to whom the Holy Ghost said, *Separate me Paul and Barnabas*: whereas the Text says, that it was to certain Prophets Acts 13. and Teachers in the Church of *Antioch*, that the Holy Ghost spake, not to give Paul a Right to preach, but to inform him where he was to preach for a season; for 'tis said, *They* Ver. 4. were sent forth by the Holy Ghost. So after Paul and Barnabas had preach'd in those places to which they were sent, they return'd to *Antioch*, from whence they had been recommen- Acts 14.26. ded to the Grace of God for the Work which they had fulfil'd. So that if Paul preach'd as a private Christian before this Mission, he did so after he had fulfil'd it. And in this Mission the Teachers and Prophets were no otherwise

concern'd than to tell *Paul* what was reveal'd to 'em; which Revelation he was oblig'd to obey, tho they had not laid Hands upon him, which was no part of the Command of the Holy Ghost, but a *Jewish Custom*, practis'd on Persons of all Ages and Conditions, when there was any extraordinary Occasion to pray for 'em. And as we see, that in this Ordination, if it may be so call'd, the Laying on of Hands with Prayers was subsequent to it, and was nothing authoritative, but a recommending *Paul and Barnabas to the Grace of God*; so the Presumption is, that at first in all Ordinations the Laying on of Hands with Prayers was not ordaining a Person, but recommending him to the Grace of God for rightly executing that Office to which the whole Church had ordain'd him. Nor do we find that having Hands laid on a Man was any of the Qualifications requisite to admit a Person to either of the two Orders of the Church, tho always us'd after he was made a Deacon, Elder or Bishop.

Our Preacher, in pursuit of his beloved Scheme, makes Gift and Ordination the same; and that the bestowing the Gift which *Timothy had by Prophecy, with the Laying on of Hands of the Presbytery*, was ordaining him. But because this is not consistent with his Scheme, that *Timothy* shou'd be ordain'd by the Presbytery; therefore he makes *2 Tim. 1. 6.* to contradict *1 Tim. 4. 14.* by supposing the Gift which was in him to be only by the putting on of *Paul's Hands*, exclusive of the Presbytery. But if receiving the Gift of the Holy Ghost by laying on of Hands was the same as being ordain'd,

dain'd, it will prove, that as all Converts were ordain'd, since at first they had all the Gift of the Holy Ghost, by laying on of the Hands of the Apostles ; so since the earliest Times none have been ordain'd, because none have had the Gift of the Holy Ghost. And our Preacher of all Men had the least reason to make them the same, unless he had a mind to disown his Orders ; nay, to shew that without a miracle he was not capable of Ordination, since nothing less than that, tho the Gift signify'd nothing extraordinary, can make him a gifted Man.

'Tis no wonder that Laymen generally get the better of the Clergy in Controversys of Divinity ; since those take their Sentiments from the Scriptures themselves, while these transcribe their Notions from one another. And had the Divines assembled at *Newport Pagnel* been better vers'd in the Scriptures than their Preacher, 'tis to be presum'd they wou'd have had more regard to their Reputation, than to require the Publication of such a Sermon, unless they did it to expose him for affronting 'em with such a Discourse : If so, they had indeed a sufficient Revenge.

And now I have only one thing more to consider, and which the Preacher seems not to have consider'd at all, and that is his Text ; since he supposes that all except the Successors of the Apostles are excluded from Preaching, as our Ministers do now, by making a set Harangue on some Verse in a Chapter on the Bible ; because the Apostle bid *Timothy* to commit the things which he had heard of him amongst many Witnesses to faithful Men, who

shou'd be able to teach others also. That this was *Timothy's* Duty, is no doubt; but that all those many Witnesses, who had learnt the Gospel from *St. Paul*, were forbid to commit the same, unless they were ordain'd, to Men who shou'd faithfully represent it to others, is what he has not attempted to shew: And therefore I shall only say, that as Faithfulness and Ability in relating to others what they had heard themselves are the only Requisites in this Text, so I am afraid both those wou'd have excluded our Preacher, had he liv'd in those days, from this Trust. For he who thro failure of either, or both of these Requisites, misrepresents a Gospel which is now in writing, and in every body's custody, wou'd have been a very unfit Person to be intrusted with it, while it was only an Oral Tradition.

As I think 'tis now time to dismiss the Preacher, so for the future I shall no more regard, by whomsoever recommended, such Squibs and Crackers of the Pulpit, which make some noise for a while, and then go out in a stink. One Reason why I made these Remarks on the first Sermon which has been publish'd against *the Rights of the Church*, was to let People see I wou'd not desert so good a Cause; which otherwise some might imagine, if they did not see in a short time a Reply to any of those Answers, which, if Report be true, are preparing from all Quarters: to each of which I design not to answer singly, but shall, by Divine Assistance (as most beneficial to the Reader, as well as most easy to the Writer) consider in the Second Part all that is material in them. And the longer I am in finishing that
Part,

Part, the more Answers I shall have before me. And as by this method I shall not be oblig'd to repeat the same things over and over, which wou'd be unavoidable if I were to reply to each singly ; so I think I may affirm, I have answer'd the main part of Dr. *Turner's* Arguments from Scripture (from Reason there are none to answer) before I saw it in my short Reply to this Sermon.

Had I not perceiv'd, by the Title he gives himself, that he was Vicar of *Greenwich*, I shou'd have concluded him a Nonjuror ; since I cannot imagine how any one cou'd own the present Government, and take the Oaths relating to the Succession, who makes it to be a great fundamental Errour, that the Civil Magistrate derives his Power from the People. And I had as little reason to conclude him a Protestant, since he says, *The other* (great fundamental Error) *as notoriously false, and if possible more abundantly mischievous, is this, That every Man has a natural Right of worshipping God according to Conscience, and, in all Matters of Religion, of following the Dictates of his own Conscience, because as to these matters Men are still in a State of Nature.* The Sense of which Words he endeavours, with the same Ingenuity as the Preacher, to misrepresent thro a long tedious Discourse.

Vindic. of
the Rights
of the
Church,
p. 2.

Had he not put his Name to the Book, in all likelihood it wou'd have been said, that tho the Writer personated a Clergyman, yet it was compos'd by the Author of *the Rights*, or some of his suppos'd Club. And if the Champions of the Independency continue to write thus, the very Women will quickly see into the

the Cheat, and how they prostitute their Consciences for the sake of their Power; and that in writing after this manner they make severer Reflections on the Clergy, than the Author of *the Rights* is capable of doing. As I wou'd not have the Reader prejudic'd in favour of *the Rights of the Church*, by the weak Attacks these Scriblers make on it; so the only Favour I am to beg of him, is to consider the Arguments, as they stand in the Book, and not as they are curtail'd, maim'd, or misrepresented by its Adversarys. The design'd Brevity of this Pamphlet will not allow me to give above one Instance of this Author's Reasoning, who to prove that Mankind have not a Right to worship God according to their Consciences, affirms, That *the Civil Magistrate in every Kingdom must have a Right finally to judg and determine what Religious Principles shall be publickly allow'd and tolerated in his Kingdom*: nay, that a Man has a Right to offer Reasons for the promoting his Religion, only so far forth as the Wisdom of the Government will permit this Practice. If a private Man keep his Religion within his own Breast, he is safe; but if he goes farther, it makes him liable to be punish'd; and his Reason is, *Because 'tis not his Province to judg for his Brethren, and to determine what Principles shall be publish'd and propagated, and promoted amongst other Men; but the Prince with the Supreme Legislative Power has the sole Right and Authority under God of judging and determining this*. If this be so, then, when the Idolatrous Kings of *Israel* did finally judg and determine that no other Worship but that of *Baal* shou'd be publickly allow'd and tolerated, it was ill done

P. 252.

P. 250.

Ibid.

done in any of their Subjects to join together to worship the True God; nay, to argue or reason in behalf of *Jehovah*, if those Idolatrous Kings wou'd not allow it. Yea, by his Hypothesis our Saviour was oblig'd to keep his Religion to himself, and not to make Converts, or teach 'em to assemble together for Divine Worship in his Name: And all Christians who from the beginning to this day had done so, when the Magistrate had finally determin'd that their Religion was not to be publicly allow'd and tolerated, were guilty of seditious Practices. It shews the deep Reach of this worthy Author, that while he is asserting the Divine Independent Right of the Priests to preach, he lays down such Principles as make it unlawful for Men to have any Preachers, or indeed any Religious Assemblies, unless the Magistrate, who is the final Judg in these matters, is pleas'd to allow them. And so fond is he of this Notion, that he affirms, *If all Christians* P. 248, *wou'd but faithfully and sincerely govern themselves by this Principle, it wou'd effectually and totally prevent all inhuman Crueltys and outrageous Barbaritys of one Communion towards another, which have made Christianity so great a Scandal, and a Name of Derision and Contempt amongst its Enemy.* But till he can convince Christians, that 'tis not their Duty publicly to worship God if the Civil Magistrate will not allow it, this Principle can protect none but Men of no Church and no Religion. I shall say no more, and I think I ought to beg the Reader's pardon for saying so much of an Author, who reasons thus throughout his whole Book; for to do him justice, 'tis all of a piece. What scan-

† Vindic.
Rights of
the Ch.
p. 95.

scandalizes me, is to see a Brace of such Divines, who tho they agree to write against *the Rights of the Church*, yet differ whether the Power they both contend for is Independent or not: for the Preacher, as we have already observ'd, maintains the Power of the Church is not Independent of the Magistrate, but the Vicar † affirms it is.

And now I have nothing more to do, than to take notice of a popular Objection against *the Rights of the Church*, That it tends to bring in Confusion and Disorder, by allowing every one provided of Abilitys to be capable of officiating in Ecclesiasticals; and consequently, whatever is pretended, that Book can't be writ in Vindication of the Church of *England*.

But the allowing a Man of sufficient Abilitys a Capacity to discharge Church-Offices, no more makes him an Ecclesiastical Minister, than the allowing a Man a Capacity to discharge Civil Offices makes him a Civil Minister. And as none can officiate in any Church, whether that Church will or no; so we see in all those Churches, which can't pretend their Ministers derive their Power by way of Succession, no more Confusion or Disorder than in other Churches. Nor can the allowing this Capacity prejudice the Church of *England*, since that does not give a Man a Right to officiate there, unless he be qualify'd according to the Legal Constitution; which is so far from making a Succession from the Church of *Rome* necessary to capacitate a Man for any Ecclesiastical Office, or for that end owning it a true Church, that her Homilys declare, " That
" the

“ the Church of *Rome*, as it is presently, and Hom. for
 “ has been for the space of nine hundred *Whitsunday*
 “ Years and odd, is so far from the nature of Par. 2. p.
 “ a true Church, that nothing can be more. 213.
 “ It is an Idolatrous Church, and not only an Of Idola-
 “ Harlot, as the Scripture calls her, but also try, p. 69.
 “ a foul, filthy, old wither’d Harlot, and the
 “ Mother of Whoredom, guilty of the same Ib.p.5,17.
 “ Idolatry, and worse than was amongst *Eth-*
 “ *nicks* and *Gentiles*.

Nothing can be more for the Advantage of the Church of *England*, than the proving, as the Author of *the Rights* has done, that there’s no particular Form of Church-Government establish’d by Christ; since that disarms all the Enemy’s of the Constitution, those who have sworn to it as well as those who have not, of all their Arguments from Scripture against it: and Reason can afford ’em none against a Discipline so suted to the Civil Government, and so agreeable to the Genius of the People, and, what few Churches can boast of, so free from all Ecclesiastical Tyranny.

Was the Author of *the Rights* mistaken, yet he ought to be forgiven, since he has gone on the same Principles as our Divines have done in opposing Popish and Fanatical Pretences. And had I time, I cou’d shew that Mr. *Hooker*, who was look’d on as a Bulwark of the Church, maintains the same Principles in Ecclesiasticals as well as Civils, with the Author of *the Rights*. And I believe there’s nothing relating to Church-Government in that Book, which Mr. *Hooker* has not said in exprefs terms, or which may not be drawn from thence by necessary Consequence.

The

P. 117.
S. 33.

The Excellent Bishop *Sanderson*, in his Discourse entitl'd, *Episcopacy as establish'd by Law not prejudicial to the Regal Power*, and publish'd in 1661. affirms, " That the King has Power, " if he see cause, to suspend any Bishop from " the Execution of his Office for so long time " as he shall think good; yea, and to deprive " him utterly of the Dignity and Office of a " Bishop, if he deserve it." If so, let any Man tell me how to make this consistent with a Bishop's receiving either his Office or Dignity from a superiour Power. And what good has the contrary Opinion done the Church, unless it be the creating a Schism in it? Nay, are not all the great Sticklers for the Divine Rights of Kings and Bishops, the greatest Enemies of State and Church; and they who believe neither, the best Friends to both? And if the Clergy of our Church will place the Controversy between themselves and their Adversariys upon the foot of an immutable Form of Church-Government, they part with a Substance to catch at a Shadow, and put themselves on a level with all the Pretenders to such a Form; and make all the Laws relating to the Establishment of the Church waste Paper, till they can prove their Diocesan Episcopacy by Scripture (the only Rule of Protestants) to be of Divine Appointment.

The Nation, and their Sovereign Representatives, will think themselves as much oblig'd to maintain the Clergy in all the Powers, Rights, and Privileges they at present enjoy, if they gratefully acknowledg to have receiv'd these from them, as if they pretend to bestow 'em on one another whether the Nation will
or

or no. And only Men of fear'd Consciences and harden'd Foreheads (in order to fright People from considering what is said against 'em) can pretend that the affirming God has left it to his Church in every Country to constitute their own Officers, and to determine of all such Church-Matters as require a special Determination, tends to weaken the Authority of the Scripture, or the Obligation Men are under of submitting to all its Dictates.

I wou'd ask these Gentlemen, if God had by a positive Law plac'd this Power in the Community, whether that wou'd have taken off from the Authority of the Scripture, or any of its Divine Institutions? Nay, whether the Ministers they made wou'd not equally have had a Divine Commission, as if they made one another? And is it not the same thing, if God has not appointed any particular Set of Men to do it? since then there's no need of any positive Law to place it in the Community, because nothing of this nature cou'd be done without their agreeing about it among themselves. And this is what the Author of *the Rights* means, when he says, the doing of this belongs of course, or of *Natural Right*, to the Community. And our Saviour, in commanding Christians to form themselves into Churches, requires 'em to do all that's necessary to it; and consequently they are as much oblig'd to use their natural Powers (if I may take the liberty so to express it) of determining every thing necessary to it, as if they had been expressly commanded to do it. And this is so far from being to the prejudice of Religion, that on the contrary 'tis the placing

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this

this Power in a particular Set of Men, independent of the Church, which tends, as the Author of *the Rights* has prov'd, to the Destruction of Religion, and of Mens Civil as well as Ecclesiastical Libertys. And tho he has shown that this was the Consequence, whenever the Clergy usurp'd such a Power; yet nothing has been said by the Vicar of *Greenwich*, or any other, to invalidate the Force of his Reasons, or the Truth of his Remarks.

F I N I S.

A
SECOND DEFENCE
OF THE
RIGHTS
OF THE
Christian Church,

Occasion'd by two late Indictments against
a Bookfeller and his Servant, for selling one
of the said Books.

In a Letter from a Gentleman in *London* to a
Clergyman in the Country.

To which are added,
Two TRACTS of *Hugo Grotius*, on these
Questions:

- I. *Whether the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper may
be administer'd where there are no Pastors?*
- II. *Whether it be necessary at all times to communicate
with the Symbols?*

A S A L S O
Some Tracts of Mr. *John Hales* of *Eaton*, viz.
Of the Lord's Supper.
The Power of the Keys.
Of Schism, &c.

The Second Edition Corrected.

Dat veniam Corvis, vexat Censura Columbas. Juven. Sat. 2.
*Nothing at this Day preserves us from Ruin and Desolation, but
that we (the Clergy) have not Power of our selves to do
the Church a Mischief. Dr. Wake, Bishop of Lincoln, his
Appeal to the True Members of the Church, p. 120.*

LONDON, Printed in the Year, M. DCC. IX.



S I R,



Receiv'd yours, wherein you
 exprefs no ſmall Concern, to
 know what is become of the
 Proſecution of that pernicious
 Book, falſly intituled, *The Rights*
of the Chriſtian Church; and

ſaid, “ That your Brethren, who out of their
 “ great Zeal had contributed very largely to
 “ the carrying on ſo pious a Work, were un-
 “ der ſome Apprehenſions left, as it has hap-
 “ pen'd to 'em on ſeveral ſuch Occaſions, they
 “ were bubbled out of their Mōny by thoſe
 “ who undertook to ſet the Proſecution afoot.
 “ You ſaid, they are very ſenſible that for-
 “ merly no one was ſo powerful, or ſo well
 “ belov'd by the People, but that they had
 “ Addreſs enough to make them their Inſtru-
 “ ments to ruin him, if he preſum'd to que-
 “ ſtion the Truth of any thing they taught,
 “ relating to their own Power or Profit; and
 “ then to perſuade them, that his Ruin was a
 “ juſt Judgment from God, for conteſting the
 “ ſacred Rights of the Church: By which po-
 “ litick means they carry'd their Power to an
 “ immense height, and wou'd have daily in-
 “ creas'd it, had they not unluckily fallen out
 “ amongſt themſelves. But now, alas! you
 “ ſaid, they are terribly afraid they have not

“ Interest enough to crush an inconsiderable
 “ Wretch, who is so presumptuous as to que-
 “ stion not only a Part, but the Whole of
 “ that Independent Power they claim by Di-
 “ vine Right; tho they have left no Stone un-
 “ turn’d, no Method untry’d to incense the
 “ People against him. Is there a Place of any
 “ Consequence where they have not preach’d
 “ against him, in season and out of season?
 “ Is it possible that so many Visitation, so
 “ many Assize-Sermons shou’d now have no
 “ effect on the People, whom formerly they
 “ cou’d lead by the Ears as they pleas’d? Nor
 “ have we trusted to Sermons alone, but se-
 “ veral Books have been writ against that Au-
 “ thor by the ablest amongst us; who, the
 “ more effectually to prejudice the People,
 “ have not fail’d to charge him with Irreli-
 “ gion, Profaneness, Blasphemy, Ridiculing
 “ the Sacraments, Undermining Religion,
 “ Crucifying our Saviour, &c. and to call
 “ him, and sometimes in the same Page, all
 “ the odious, tho inconsistent Names they
 “ cou’d think of, as Atheist, Deist, Socinian,
 “ Papist, Sceptick, &c. and they likewise have
 “ laid all the Misfortunes, Mismanagements
 “ and Miscarriages which have happen’d in the
 “ Nation to the permitting the *Rights* to be
 “ sold unpunish’d, and threaten terrible Judg-
 “ ments, if the Author is not call’d to an ac-
 “ count. And one wou’d think an Argument
 “ of this nature cou’d not miscarry, since the
 “ Pagans us’d it against the Christians, and
 “ the different Sects of Christians afterwards
 “ against one another, as they chanc’d to be
 “ uppermost, with never-failing Success. Can
 “ one read Mr. Hill’s most pathetick Address

“ to the Nobility and Gentry, and not burn,
 “ with *Phineas*’s Zeal, to stone the Author of
 “ that pernicious Book? Did not our Nonju-
 “ ring Brethren, who look on the Governors
 “ of Church and State as Usurpers and Trai-
 “ tors, think this a most effectual Method,
 “ they wou’d not have address’d to ’em as their
 “ Spiritual and Temporal Governors; and
 “ seem’d so wonderfully afraid lest the War
 “ shou’d not be carry’d on with Success against
 “ the Abettors of the Pretender, for letting
 “ the Author of the *Rights* escape unpunish’d.
 “ Nay, the more effectually to stir up the Peo-
 “ ple, has not one of ’em, who has a happy
 “ Talent that way, told a long Story of
 “ strange blasphemous things, said in a private
 “ Conversation by certain *Grecians*?

Dr. Hicks’s
Pref. p.
 26, & 50.
Wolf stript
 Part 2. p.

Dr. Hicks’s
Pref. p.
 13, &c.

“ In short, Sir, it wou’d be endless to relate
 “ all the ways we, who are never wanting to
 “ our Interest, have taken, to get a Book writ
 “ in defence of the Rights of the People in
 “ Church-Matters condemn’d by Lay-Jurys and
 “ Lay-Judges; and cou’d we succeed, it wou’d
 “ be richly worth our while, because their con-
 “ demning that Book wou’d be, in effect, giv-
 “ ing Sentence against themselves: Then we
 “ might hope to fright not only the Author
 “ from publishing his *Second Part*, but all o-
 “ thers from writing in defence of Human
 “ Laws, and the Legal Supremacy, against
 “ our Claim to an absolute independent Power
 “ by Divine Right, which subjects Kings and
 “ Parliaments, as well as the meanest of the
 “ People, to our Jurisdiction: Then the Church
 “ wou’d quickly flourish, and the Clergy soon
 “ arrive to as great a Degree of Grandure and
 “ Splendor as in any of our neighbouring

“ Countrys; and then that infinite Scandal;
 “ which Protestants lie under, wou’d be re-
 “ mov’d, of suffering the Orthodox Priests a-
 “ mong them to have less Power and Riches
 “ than the Heterodox Priests have amongst the
 “ Papists. Till that is brought about, I shall
 “ never think they have any true regard for
 “ the Church of Christ, or for the Priests of
 “ the Ever-living God. And therefore, Sir,
 “ I conjure you, by virtue of that Friendship
 “ we contracted at the University, and the
 “ Zeal you then express’d against all Hetero-
 “ dox Books, not only to give me a full account
 “ of all the Steps which have been taken for
 “ condemning the vilest Book that ever was
 “ writ, but likewise to assist, to your utmost,
 “ the Reverend Informer in carrying on so
 “ pious a Work. In short, we must get some
 “ Propositions out of that Book condemn’d;
 “ and tho they refer only to some incidental
 “ Points, we know very well how to apply
 “ ’em to the main Question. And this is
 “ the more necessary at present; for we find,
 “ since that half-learned Layman (as one of
 “ our Party very wittily calls Mr. *Lock*) has
 “ taught Men to have clear and distinct Ideas
 “ to their Words, our Power, especially our
 “ judicial Power, with relation to the next
 “ World, which is the Foundation of all the
 “ rest, mightily declines. You see, Sir, by
 “ my writing to you so openly, without the
 “ least disguise or reserve, what Opinion I
 “ have of your Friendship, as well as your
 “ Zeal for the Church.

Parker’s
 Letter to
 Mr. Bold,
 at the end
 of his *Ecc.*
Abridgm.

S I R,

Oct. 1. 1708.

S I R,

IN answer to yours I must beg leave to tell you, that tho I have not in the least quitted that Friendship I contracted with you at the University, yet upon coming to this Town I soon quitted all the persecuting Notions I learnt there; and must freely own, that I can't think vexatious and expensive Trials, Fines, Imprisonments, &c. a suitable return for a Man's endeavouring to inform my Understanding, by offering me his Reasons, and submitting them to my Judgment, especially in a point of Consequence. Whoever is afraid to see a Controversy set in a clear Light, by having the Arguments muster'd up on both sides, must have some By-Interest to serve, and prefers That to the Discovery of Truth; which whosoever loves as he ought, will be indifferent, whether this or that Notion be true, and only concern'd that the Truth may be made to appear. Monsieur *Le Clerc*, in the Abstract he has made of the Introduction to the Rights of the Christian Church, has done Justice to the *English* in saying, "That that Nation has too much good Sense and Light to be abus'd with false Reasonings, especially when it is lawful, as at present, to oppose them with better Truth, I believe, never runs any risk amongst an enlighten'd People, but when it is not permitted to be spoken; nor has it

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" any

“ any thing to fear from Lyes, if suffer’d to
“ encounter ’em on equal Terms. And you,
Sir, can’t have so mean an Opinion of your
Brethren, as to think, if they have Truth on
their side, they can’t make it appear to so en-
lighten’d a People; or that such a great Body
of learned Divines are not an equal match for
a single Layman, in a Dispute relating to
their own Power: a Point which most of ’em
make the chief Study of their Lives, and nei-
ther want Leisure to consult the Writings
of former Priests, or Opportunity to advise
with one another. And have not they, who
are reckon’d the most famous Combatants of
Church-Militant, batter’d the *Rights* with their
heavy Artillery from the Press, while 10000
random Shot have been made at it from Pulpit
Blunderbusses? And yet after a continu’d At-
tack for almost three years together, is there
not still a loud Cry to the Secular Arm of Help,
Help, Help? And what can the World think
is the meaning of this, or what other Con-
struction can they put on it, but that the Ene-
mys of the *Rights* are conscious, That Reason
affords them no Assistance, and therefore they
have recourse, contrary to their own Principles
(if Protestant Principles may be call’d theirs)
to Brutal Force? which they perceive in Popish
Countrys makes Men renounce their very Sen-
ses, and blindly submit to the most abominable
Superstitions that tricking knavish Priests ever
impos’d on a deluded People. And the more
the Dispute relates to the Interest of the Cler-
gy, the more scandalous will it be for Prote-
stant Divines to make use of Popish Methods,
not to convince, but silence their Adversarys.

I must confess I was somewhat surpriz'd to receive a Letter on this Head from you, who have declar'd to the World more than once, That the Laity's Judging in religious Matters is an invasion of the sacred Province of the Clergy, and a Usurpation of the Divine Rights of the Convocation. Is it not your great Complaint against the *Rights*, that it puts too much Power in the hands of the Laity in religious Matters? tho that allows them no other Power than of judging every one for himself: But here you are for Lay-Judges and Lay-Jurys to determine, not only for the Laity, but for the Clergy, even in Points which most nearly concern them. If you say this Method is taken to preserve the legal Constitution of the Church, of which the Laity are the proper Judges; how comes it about then, that tho there has not been a Book writ these many years by High-Church with relation to Ecclesiastical Government, but has been directly level'd against the Constitution of the Church; yet you and your Party are so far from ever complaining of it, that those very Persons have been the only Men in vogue? Nay, the more any one has signaliz'd himself in writing against the Church, the more he has been esteem'd by those who wou'd be thought the only Churchmen: That shall atone for their being Jacobites, and for their charging those very Men, who so wonderfully extol them, not only with Perjury and Rebellion, but with Schism and Heresy; while all who write in earnest for the Constitution of the Church, are represented as Enemies to Christ and his Kingdom. The Adversarys of the *Rights*, even while they wou'd have the
World

World believe they are defending the Church as by Law establish'd, can't forbear to rail most bitterly against the Constitution: And so much has Spite and Malice got the better of their Understanding, that tho they pretend it's their Zeal for the Church, the best constituted Church in the World, that makes 'em treat the Author of the *Rights* as they do, yet they most impolitickly shew, that their Fury and Rage is occasion'd by his truly stating the Constitution of the National Church (which they had from time to time most industriously misrepresented) and defending it thus stated against all their Calumny and Sophistry. And if they talk thus, when they are endeavouring to clear themselves from the Charge of being Enemys to the Constitution of the National Church, and especially to that Part of it which relates to the Regal Supremacy, what will they not say at another time, when they have no such reason to be on the reserve? And to prove my Point, I think I need only shew, that the most cry'd up of the Adversarys of the *Rights* (for it wou'd be endless to mention them all) discover plainly in their Answers, that they are for destroying the Constitution of the establish'd Church, for utterly subverting the Regal Supremacy, and for erecting a Spiritual Tyranny over the Consciences of the People.

To make out this, I must, dear Friend, beg your Patience a little, and first remind you, that all the Acts, relating to the legal Government of the Church, enacted by *H. 8.* and *Edw. 6.* were (except 1 *Ed. 6. ch. 2.* which was reviv'd by the 1 *Jac. 1. ch. 25.*) not only reviv'd by 1 *Eliz.* but the Oath of Supremacy enjoyn'd, for the better Observation of this

Act

Act in which those reviv'd Acts are included ; and consequently, the speaking against, or opposing any of those Acts, is a direct Breach of the Oath of Supremacy, which obliges every one to *assist and defend all Jurisdictions, Privileges, Preeminencys and Authoritys, granted or belonging to the Queen, her Heirs and Successors.* Now as these Acts with respect to the Discipline-Part, constitute the Church of *England* to be what at present it is ; so I shall shew you what the Adversarys of the *Rights* say of 'em.

And to begin with the Reverend Mr. *Sam. Pag. 3, 4, Hill, Archdeacon of Wells* ; he in his Dialogue *5, 6, &c.* between *Demas* and *Hierarcha*, which he wou'd have thought to be an Answer to the *Rights*, divides the Laws which concern the Constitution of the Church into two Parts ; those which relate to the Libertys of the Church, meaning Acts of Parliament, made in Popish times ; and those which are counter to her Libertys, meaning those made at the Reformation : then adds, “ That the generality of the
“ Clergy not only seeing in Theory, but feeling by Experience the great Inconvenience
“ of them, have of late express'd their Desire of
“ their Repeal or Emendation, bearing however
“ the Weight and Severity of them.—Notwithstanding their Grievs have been increas'd
“ by the perfidious Compliances of some among themselves, who have advanc'd Maxims almost as pernicious to the Church as
“ yours, and of an influential Tendency to
“ Irreligion ; the chief of these are those you
“ so pompously celebrate, for no other Cause, but that their Writings serve to cover and
“ countenance so great a part of your Impiety.
“ —Our Enemy's perceiving our general
“ Disa-

“ Dissatisfaction, &c. have muster’d up all their
 “ Forces, and sharpen’d all the Weapons, not
 “ only of all the tolerated Dissenters, but of
 “ Socinians, Deists, Atheists, to the utter Cru-
 “ cifixion of Christ and his Church; in which
 “ Train you have affected the Van, and given
 “ the first Attack in your Preface. So that it
 seems the generality of the present Clergy are
 not only dissatisfy’d with those Laws relating
 to the Constitution of the Church, which they
 have sworn to maintain, and which the Cler-
 gy have hitherto bravely defended, both against
 Papists and Puritans, as the great Privilege and
 Happiness of the Church; but they now feel
 the great Inconvenience, Weight and Seve-
 rity of ’em, and their Grievs are increas’d by
 some of their Body, who are so perfidious as
 to write in defence of those Laws they are ob-
 lig’d under pain of Perjury to defend. Tho
 this it seems they cou’d not do without ad-
 vancing Maxims (errant Protestant Maxims)
 almost as pernicious to the Church and Hierar-
 chy, as those of the Author of the *Rights*, who
 has no more Conscience than to lead the Van,
 in defending the Church as by Law establish’d,
 and by shewing in his Preface what the Consti-
 tution of the Church is, has made an Attack on
 the generality of the Clergy; and is so very
 wicked (God forgive him) as pompously to cele-
 brate those very Men who have writ in defence
 of the Church, and thereby countenance a great
 part of his Impiety in writing for the same
 Cause: for which now none but Dissenters,
 Socinians, Deists and Atheists are engag’d;
 and they, in opposition it seems to the gene-
 rality of the Clergy, muster up all their Forces,
 and sharpen all their Weapons, in defence of
 the

the Church as by Law establish'd, to the utter Crucifixion of Christ and his Church. Mr. *Hill* in owning this acts like a fair and frank Adversary ; and it serves to shew, that when the Author of the *Rights* is charg'd with Impiety, Irreligion, Socinianism, Deism, Atheism, the Crucifying of Christ and his Church, nothing else is meant by that Charge but writing in defence of the Church as by Law establish'd.

He says, *We* (speaking of the generality of the Clergy) *complain against a few of H. VIII's Laws, whose local Innovation here is a fatal Prejudice against them* (so fatal a thing it is to innovate from Popery, and to restore the antient Jurisdiction to the Crown) And then after reflecting on the 26 *H. 8. c. 1.* and on the 37 *H. 8. c. 17.* for making the King the Fountain of all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, tho a Layman, &c. and on some further Additions in *K. Edw. VI's* Reign, without any Decree of Convocation, he says, " As to the second Synodical Submission, and the Statute thereupon (meaning 25 *H. 8. c. 19.*) as it was violently extorted from the Clergy, and unfairly represented in the Preamble of the Statute—so it contains no point of Christian Doctrine, and consequently is of no doctrinal Force against the Powers Hierarchical. And therefore our Continuance in, and under that Submission, is not to be attributed to any Principle of Conscience (there every body will believe him) but either to prudent Patience or cowardly Fear : All which being to a Demonstration evident, &c. I need not, I think, mention any more from this Reverend Archdeacon, to shew that his Enmity

mity to the Author of the *Rights*, is for his Zeal to the Constitution of the Church.

- The next I shall quote is the great Champion of High-Church, whose Weekly Papers against the *Rights* are tack'd together in a Pamphlet, intitl'd, *The second Part of the Wolf stript*, &c. which I shall refer to; and which (like all his other Writings) are wonderfully cry'd up by the Party. And he says, *Let him* (the Author of the *Rights*) *chuse, whether he will insult on a Popish Act of Submission: they* (that Author and his Followers) *quote the Popish Act of Submission to blacken the Church now.*
- P. 69. *The Rights lays the main stress on this Act of Submission, and other Acts of Parliament made after the Reformation, which were all grounded on this Act of Submission, and infer'd from it.* What is not a Man capable of saying, when he can call the Act of Submission a Popish Law, tho it prohibits all Appeals to the Pope, and places 'em in the Prince, as well as all that Power over the Convocation, which the Pope and his Deputys had usurp'd? At this rate Queen *Elizabeth*, and her Parliaments, who reviv'd this Act, and all the succeeding Kings and Parliaments who have continu'd it, must be at least Popishly affected: Nay, all the Convocations, even to this present one, must be so too, since they have sat and acted by virtue of this Act, and under its Direction. What, are not they far enough reform'd from Popery, that they shou'd insult and blacken the Church with this Popish Act of Submission? Nay, what Clergyman is there from the time of the Reformation to this day, who ever scrupl'd to make use of the Power which this Act has given the Prince, in appealing to him from

from the Bishop's Court in any Spiritual Cause whatever?

But this Author is not satisfy'd in making the 25 of *H. 8. c. 19.* a Popish Act, but all other Acts relating to the Church must be Popish, tho made after the Reformation, because they are all grounded upon and infer'd from this Act: which is saying, that the Church of *England* as by Law establish'd is Popish; and he who makes the Church of *England* Popish, must make the Church of *Rome* Protestant. The Author of the *Rights* says, That the Bishop of *Sarum* observes (and 'tis well worth considering) " That it was out of fear of the " Bishops assuming more Power than the " Popes, that the Princes of *Europe* came to " an Agreement with them in Ecclesiastical " Matters: for upon their being long at *Avignon*, and the great Schisms afterward at " *Rome*, the Councils began to pretend that " the Power of governing the Church was " in them; and they declar'd, that both " Popes and Princes, who shou'd attempt to " hinder their frequent Meetings, were fallen " from that Dignity. And they carry'd it " so far as to make themselves independent of " the Civil Authority, particularly in the Point " of Elections. This dispos'd Princes generally to enter into an Agreement with the " Popes, and they yielded a great deal to be " protected in what they had reserv'd to themselves. Upon these words of the Bishop the Author of the *Rights* makes this Remark: This shews to what a height Priestcraft was carry'd, when the Supreme Powers had no way to escape the heavier Oppressions and more insupportable Usurpations of their own Clergy,

than

P. 255.

Exp. Art.

21. & 27.

than by submitting to the Pope's milder Yoke and gentler Authority. The *Wolf stript* makes his Advantage of this Remark, and says, " I will shew you, that in the Comparison he gives the preference, in many Cases, to Popery before the Church of *England*. For the present read his *pag.* 255. where he tells you, that the Supreme Powers, &c. So that, it seems, by the Church of *England* he means those Popish Bishops, who were, as the Bishop of *Sarum* shews, more insolent and more insupportable than the Popes themselves.

- P. 24. One wou'd think nothing more opposite to Popery than Erastianism; yet he affirms, All the Erastianism among us (which, in another Discourse, he says, ran down like a Torrent from the Reformation) came originally from Popery, and instances in the King's Nomination to Bishopricks. And indeed the Author's Quarrel to modern Popery is, That it does not allow the Clergy Power enough; since there are none I believe of that Church who have, at least for this hundred Years, asserted as this Author does, *That there are neither Things nor Persons exempted from the Power of the Church*; which is claiming a direct Dominion for the Priest in Temporals, making him Supreme over all Causes and all Persons, both Civil and Ecclesiastical: And no wonder, since he will have all Kings and Queens bow themselves down to the Ground, and lick the Dust of his Feet; and the People he every where treats with the utmost Contempt; and in his Answer to the *Rights*, as well as in all his other Writings, calls them the *Beasts of the People*. This Author, tho he makes Kings and Popes great Enemies to Episcopacy, and says, *That the Western Church,*
- Regal. p. 230. 2 Ed.
- P. 33. Reg. and Pontif. p. 26.
- P. 52. Regal. 112.

Church, like her Master, was crucify'd between the Usurpation of the Pontificate on one side, and the Regale on the other, and all the Choice left to it (the Church) was, who shou'd be its Executioner: Yet he prefers the Papal to the Regal Supremacy, and says, *That the Usurpation of the Pope on the Episcopate, made the Bishop of Spalato come over to England; but finding here a more heterogeneous Erastianism in the Regale, he return'd:* And says, *If the French keep as clear of the Regale, as he supposes they have of the Pontificate, their Reformation will exceed ours:* He likewise asserts, *That the scandalous and sacrilegious Impropriations of Tithes, made by the Popes, were worse diverted by those who shou'd restore 'em:* So that he wou'd rather have 'em in the worst of Papists Hands, the Monks and Friars, than any Lay-Protestants. This I think is enough to let the Reader see (tho every thing he says of the Church is to the same purpose) that his Rage against the Author of the *Rights* is grounded on his defending the Act of Submission, and the rest of the Acts relating to the Constitution of the Church, and those Rights, Powers and Privileges the Laity enjoy by virtue of those Acts.

The next Adversary of the *Rights* whom I shall consider is the Reverend Dr. *Hicks*; and he in the Book, annex'd to his bulky Preface against the *Rights*, complains of the Clergy's want of Power, even before the Reformation: and says, *William the Conqueror broke in on the Rights and Libertys of the English Church; and the Instance he gives of it is, " That he wou'd not suffer the Primate, in a general Council of the Kingdom, to enact any Canon which he did not first approve, or suf-*

P. 161.

P. 118.

P. 142.

P. 265.

2 Ed.

Differt.
con. Eccl.
Hist.

P. 269.

“ fer any Bishop to censure any of his Mini-
 “ sters or Courtiers ; and suffer’d none to ac-
 “ knowledg any who was constituted Bishop
 “ of *Rome* for Pope without his Order ; or
 “ admit any of his Letters for such, unless
 “ they were first shewn him. He, I say, who
 thinks the Clergy wanted Power in the Popish
 times, it’s no wonder he shou’d say of the Pro-
 testants, “ That in such dregs of time as these,
 “ to the great Decay of Christian Piety, it
 “ (Ecclesiastical Power) is so precarious, and
 “ oppress’d to such a degree in so many Pro-
 “ testant Countrys, that it is almost brought
 “ to the last gasp. His Opinion of our Refor-
 mation, and the Principles it was carry’d on
 by, may be collected from what he says of
 H. 8. and Edm. 6. “ That they, without ex-
 ample, the one out of Pride and Ambition,
 “ the other in Non-age and ignorantly, set
 “ themselves in the Throne of our Lord ; and
 “ the Bishops of the Church of *England* in those
 “ two Reigns, before and after the Reforma-
 “ tion, overaw’d thro human Weakness, by
 “ terrible Punishments, gave up the Cause of
 “ Christ and the Church, for which they ought
 “ to have dy’d Martyrs. A blessed Reforma-
 tion indeed by this account of it ! Kings usurp-
 ing the Throne of Christ, Parliaments enact-
 ing such Penaltys as forc’d the Bishops to give
 up the Cause of Christ. But tho the Popish
 Queen *Mary* resign’d the Throne of Christ to
 the Bishops, and her Popish Parliament took
 off those terrible Penaltys which forc’d the Bi-
 shops to give up the Cause of Christ ; yet alas,
 no sooner did the Reformation prevail again,
 than Queen *Elizabeth* usurp’d the Throne
 of Christ, and the Parliament reviv’d those

P. 270.

P. 243,
244.

Laws which made the Bishops give up the Cause of Christ: and so it has continu'd, except that the Sovereign, by putting down the High Commission Court, is excluded from judging in Causes of the first Instance; yet that does not hinder, but that as Supreme Governor of the Church, there's an Appeal to him in all such Spiritual Causes as are cognizable by any Ecclesiastical Power whatever. And if *H. 8.* crucify'd the Church as *Pilate* did our Saviour, as the Doctor supposes, with the Solemnity of three Inscriptions, because he on a Medal is call'd Head of the Church in three Languages; the Church is still on the Cross, tho not with the Solemnity of three Inscriptions, since the Regal Supremacy is still the same. And the Doctor says, " That from this rigid Practice
P. 240.
" of the new Supremacy in those Reigns it has
" proceeded in great part, that the true No-
" tion of a Church, and of her Spiritual Power
" and Authority, vested by Christ in her Mi-
" nisters, has been so much neglected and for-
" gotten among us, to the great Dishonour of
" God, the unspeakable Damage of Religion,
" and Contempt of the Church and Clergy,
" which are every day more and more in-
" sulted by every vile *Mescroyant*, and every
" blaspheming Tongue and Pen. Nay, ac-
" cording to him, it's a high Crime so much as
to mention the Laws relating to the Constitu-
tion of the Church; and therefore he com-
plains, " That the Author of the *Rights* has
Pref. p.
" not omitted one Statute in his Preface from
174.
" which he cou'd take any the least Argument,
" to prove that the Clergy derive their Spirit-
" ual Power of inflicting Spiritual Censures
" from the Laws of the Land. And again,
" He

Ibid. 133. " He is very frank in allowing the Magistrate
 " a Power to deprive the Clergy, and with
 " great pleasure insults them again and again
 " with the depriving Acts since the Reign of
 " *H. 8.* Things indeed are brought to a very
 fine Pass, when the mentioning the Laws, re-
 lating to the Establishment of the Church of
England, shall be call'd insulting the Clergy of
 the establish'd Church, who have no Right to
 that Title but from those very Laws. The
 next thing I expect to hear from the Doctor is,
 That the Author of *the Rights* takes great
 pleasure to insult the Clergy again and again
 with the Laws of the Gospel, since they are
 as much against Priestcraft as the Laws of the
 Land. But shou'd I mention all that these
 Learned Authors say against *the Rights*, for
 defending the Church as by Law establish'd ;
 or, according to Dr. *Hicks's* Phrase, for in-
 sulting the Clergy with Acts of Parliament, I
 shou'd transcribe no small part of their An-
 swers.

It's no wonder that these Men meet with
 Esteem and Applause in proportion to their
 reviling the Laws which constitute the Nation-
 al Church, since it is these Laws which set
 bounds to the unlimited Ambition of the Ec-
 clesiasticks, and hinder them from getting and
 gathering to themselves the Rule and Government
 of the World, as the 38 of *H. 8. c. 17.* declares
 was their Intent, by engrossing all Ecclesiasti-
 cal Jurisdiction to themselves: For cou'd they
 persuade the World these Laws are incon-
 sistent with their Divine Rights, there's no-
 thing to hinder 'em from claiming as abso-
 lute a Tyranny over the Consciences of the
 People, as they did formerly in the Popish
 Times ;

Times ; and that it is This they are driving at, is so very evident, that they can't conceal it in their Answers to *the Rights*.

In Civil Matters, since both Partys can't possess the same thing, there is a necessity of appealing to Judges, who wou'd be to no purpose, if People were not bound to submit to their Determinations : but in Religious Matters there can be no pretence for Judges, because two Persons may hold either the same or different Religions without injuring one another. Nor can Men bind themselves to submit to whatever Determinations others shall make for them in Religious Matters ; where all Compliance, contrary to Conscience, is a Sin. And yet the great Crime objected to the Author of *the Rights*, is, That he will not, contrary to the nature of Things, and the Law both of God and the Land, allow that the same Persons, at the same time, are subject to two Legislative Powers ; and that as one are Judges and Umpires for the People in Civil, so the other in Religious Matters ; and as one of 'em has a Right to punish Men in this World, so the Power of the other extends to the next World, and they can punish 'em there for not submitting to their Determinations here. If this be not a Papal Power, tell me, Sir, what is so ; and yet all who write against *the Rights*, come intirely into this Scheme.

Dr. Hicks affirms, " There are many Truths P. 255, asserted by the Presbyterians concerning 256.

" Church-Government : To which, he says, I give my full Assent. Some of which are, " That as the Ministers and others of the Ecclesiastical State are subject to the Magi-

“strate civilly, so ought the Person of the
 “Magistrate to be subject to the Church spiri-
 “tually. As Ministers are subject to the Judg-
 “ment and Punishment of the Magistrate in
 “external things, if they offend; so ought
 “the Magistrates to submit themselves to the
 “Discipline of the Church, if they trans-
 “gress in Matters of Conscience and Religion.
 “It appertains to the Office of a Christian
 “Magistrate, to fortify and assist the Godly
 “Proceedings of the Church, to assist and
 “maintain the Discipline of it, &c. Which
 is saying, That the Magistrate, by virtue of
 his Office, is bound to be Hangman to the
 Church; since they being to judg of Matters
 of Religion and Conscience, must judg of
 their own Proceedings, whether they be God-
 ly or not. And since there’s nothing which,
 upon some account or other, relates not to
 Conscience and Religion, external things will
 belong to their Cognizance: And this the
 Doctor owns in a thing as much external as can
 be, *viz.* Clothes; for he supposes that the Go-
 vernors of the Church have a power to appoint
 Times of Abstinence and Fasting, and of ap-
 pointing Holidays, and in some cases of giving
 Orders about Clothes. Tho to give the Doctor
 his due, he was so far from approving these
 Notions in *Charles II’s* time, that in a Sermon
 preach’d before the Lord Mayor, *Jan. 168 $\frac{1}{2}$* ,
 in order to promote a Persecution on the Pres-
 byterians, he charges’em with holding forty
 Popish and Damnable Positions; some of which
 are, “That the King may be excommunicated
 “by the Ministers: That the Church, in Ec-
 “clesiastical Matters, has a Power to make
 “Laws without the King: That the King
 “has

Pres.p.82.

“ has no Power to call and dissolve Ecclesiastical Assemblies, nor to ordain a Fast or Festival, or to silence or deprive any Minister; because every Minister, in his Ministerial Capacity, is subject to none but Christ. But it seems the Scene is chang'd, and now it's Damnation not to come in to these Damnable and Popish Positions. And Mr. *Hill*, to evade the Texts which oblige every one to judge of the Doctrines of their Teachers, says, “ That P. 72.
 “ the Direction of the Apostles was to the whole Churches jointly, to prove all things, and cleave to that which is good; and that for the first three Centuries there were P. 105.
 “ Judges and Governors in all Matters Christian.

Mr. *Wotton* is so great an Enemy to the Protestant Principle of every one's judging for himself, and following the Dictates of his Conscience, that he says the Controversy between him and his Adversary is, “ Whether every *Vindicat.*
 “ Man is under an indispensable Obligation to *Rights of*
 “ worship God after the manner he thinks *the Clergy,*
 “ most agreeable to his Will, and in all Reli- P. 38.
 “ gious Matters to follow the Dictates of his own Conscience. And Dr. *Turner* is so far from allowing a private Man to act according to his Judgment and Conscience in Religious Matters, that he says, “ If he has the liberty *Answer to*
 “ to enjoy his own Sentiments to himself, *the Rights,*
 “ without being constrain'd on one hand to P. 259.
 “ forgo and renounce 'em, or permitted on the other to publish and defend 'em, he has all the Power and Liberty he can reasonably pretend to. So that no private Man whatever has a Right publickly to profess his Religion, or be of any Church (as he can't be if

he is oblig'd to keep his Religious Sentiments to himself) when he is forbid by his Governors.

Pref. p.
200.

This I think is sufficient to shew, that 'tis not the Love some Men have for the Protestant Religion in general, or to any of the Churches of *Great Britain* in particular, that makes 'em so very zealous for condemning *the Rights*; for then they cou'd not overlook the Answers, especially Dr. *Hicks's*, which reviles both the Establish'd Churches of *Great Britain*: for in his Answer to *the Rights*, publish'd since the Union, he says of the Establish'd Church of *North Britain*, " Such a Church I think al-
" together as unworthy of the Name of a
" Church, as a Band of Rebels in any Coun-
" try, who have overthrow'n the Civil Con-
" stitution of it, wou'd be of the Name of a
" Kingdom, State or Republick; because such
" a pretended Church is not only a Variation
" from the Catholick Apostolick Church, but
" a sworn destructive Confederacy against it,
" even the Abomination of Desolation in the
" House or Kingdom of God, of which their
" Pastors are not Ministers, but by Principle
" most malicious Enemies; not Pastors, but
" Wolves of the Flock. What Quarter do
you think that Church may expect, if such
Notions as these prevail? Wou'd the High-
fliers use 'em any whit better than the Author
of *the Rights*, had they 'em in their power,
since no small part of their Anger against him
is occasion'd by his establishing such Maxims
about Ecclesiastical Discipline, particularly in
that Chapter which relates to the Mutability
of it, as justify what the Supreme Powers of
both Nations have since done, in establishing
two

two Churches, different in their Polity, for the different Parts of *Great Britain*?

What in all likelihood has not a little contributed to the Insolence of these Highfliers, is, That the Lower House of Convocation, who pretend they have a power to censure Books without a Royal Licence, have never taken the least notice of any of these Writers, even tho what is writ against the Constitution is address'd to them; yet there's hardly any of the Adversarys of these Men (tho no doubt it's for other Reasons) who escape their Censure. The *Rehearsal* Writer may have the vanity to think, that they in effect declare for him, when they desire the Bishops to concur with them in an Address against his Adversarys, the Writers of the *Review* and *Observer*. And the Jacobites will be so weak, as to think these Men no Enemy's to their Anti-Revolution Principles, who can address to the Bishops, that a Synodical Notice may be taken of the Dishonor done to the Church, by a Sermon preach'd by Mr. *B. Hoadly*; as if what so manifestly tends to justify the Revolution, can tend to the Dishonor of the Church, which was preserv'd by that Revolution.

I shall add no more on this head at present, but that, tho there's no time since the Reformation, which wou'd have endur'd the hundredth part of the Reflections which the Highfliers daily make on the Church, yet for my part I am against debarring 'em Pen, Ink, and Paper; for such a Cause, and so manag'd, must needs ruin it self: not that they have any reason of Complaint if they are otherwise dealt with, since they know that what's Sauce for a Goose is Sauce for a Gander. And now,
Sir,

Sir, begging your pardon for what may seem a very unseasonable Digression, I will endeavor to make you amends, by not only giving a full account of what I know relating to the Prosecution, but likewise my Thoughts of the Passages contain'd in the two Indictments.

After several Attempts on several Grand Jurys to present *the Rights of the Christian Church*, the Reverend Mr. Hilliard at last found one for his turn, and prevail'd on 'em to present on *Decemb. 12. last at Hicks's Hall*, the Author, Publisher, and Printer of *the Rights*; which Presentment was soon after printed in the *Postman*: and this was done with no other design than to prejudice People against *the Rights*, since the Passages are most scandalously misrepresented, as appears by a *printed Letter to a Friend, occasion'd by the Presentment, &c.* which has plac'd 'em as they are in the Book, and as recited in the Presentment, one against the other: So that every Reader may see the difference, and know what to think of a Grand Jury, who it seems were either such good Churchmen, as to believe this Priest before their own Eyes; or, which is as bad, wou'd not, tho upon Oath, examine themselves, whether such Passages were to be found in the Book, but were satisfy'd with his Information. I think 'twas more fairly done by a Popish Grand Jury, who at the Sollicitation of some such Priest made a Presentment against one *John Stephens*, in these words, *Item, We saine that John Stephens is a Man we can't tell what to make of him, and that he has Books we know not what they are.* But our Reverend Informer having such a confiding Grand Jury, did not neglect this long-wish'd for Opportunity, but prevail'd

prevail'd on 'em the next day to make a new Presentment against Mr. *Richard Sare*, and his Journeyman Mr. *Williamson*,^{*} for selling him one of the *Rights*.

They who are not acquainted with *Evidence Hilliard*, may not know upon what Motives, and at whose Instigation he attempted this Prosecution; but the printed Defence of the first Presentment plainly shews how he copies after the most furious Jacobite in *England*, the *Rehearsal* Writer: for he (as I^{*} have already^{*} P. 80. shewn the other did) makes the Author of the *Rights* Remark on the Conduct of the Popish Bishops, from the Bishop of *Sarum*'s Account of them, to be *magnifying Popery, &c. and Popish Bishops above the Protestant Clergy*; and then^{Printed Def. p. 23.} adds, with the assurance of an *Irish Evidence*, *I am persuaded the Author of the Rights himself does not pretend to say I have misrepresented his Sense or Meaning.* And his great Zeal for the Protestant Religion appears by his representing as criminal whatever the Author of the *Rights* says in defence of the Protestant Principle, of every one's judging for himself in Religious Matters; and then adding, *According to him*,^{P. 14.} *there is no such thing as Umpires and Judges in Religious Matters; Orthodoxy is nothing but a State-Device.* One who thinks the having Umpires and Judges in Religious Matters so necessary, that without it there can be no such thing as Orthodoxy, can be at home no where but at *Rome*; and acts very inconsistently, in professing himself of that Religion which is built on this Unorthodox Principle, That there are no Judges or Umpires for the People in Religious Matters. I don't think that a Man of such Principles can fairly deny, but that he

he does the Church of *Rome* more service by acting the part he does, than if he had openly profess'd himself a Member of that Church. But I refer the Reader to the Pamphlet it self, to see, if it be worth his while, how little the Author of it is a Friend to the present Establishment in Church or State.

They who knew Mr. *Hilliard's* Principles, were surpriz'd to find that one who was thought a High Churchman, and chiefly printed Books of that side, and particularly Dr. *Hicks's Answer to the Rights*, shou'd be pick'd out from amongst all the Booksellers as the fittest Man to suffer for selling *the Rights*; but that can be no otherwise accounted for, than by supposing the Informer concluded, that Mr. *Sare* wou'd, out of Complement to that Party, submit without more ado to the Court, in hopes of a very moderate Fine, rather than be at the Charge and Trouble of an expensive Trial. But Mr. *Sare* being too honest to come into such a wretched Design, the hopeful Plot was spoil'd. And the pious Informer, to be reveng'd on him for this Disappointment, assur'd him some time before the Trial was to come on, that he was resolv'd not to remove it, in order to put him to the more expence in seeing Council, &c. and then got it remov'd into the *Queen's Bench* by a *Certiorari*: and not content with this Usage, got a new Indictment in that Court prefer'd against him, in which are contain'd a great many of the same Passages that are in the other. So that now (a thing not heard on before) there are two Indictments against the same Persons for the same Fact in the same Court, and the same Reverend Priest the sole Informer and Evidence in both.

If

If a Bookseller is not safe from the Malice of a private Man, in selling a Book which has had three Editions, has been several times advertis'd in the publick Papers, and been so much the Discourse of all sorts of People, without being censur'd by any Authority whatever, or one Proposition in it condemn'd by any of the Universitys of *Great Britain*; when is he safe? Must no Book be printed but what all Divines agree to be Orthodox in all Points? Or must the Booksellers have recourse to the Learned in the Law, to examine all the Passages in a Book before they dare sell it? And after all, let a Book be ever so innocent, and writ with a design to support the Constitution, a Bookseller after this rate may be ruin'd for selling it; since the Prosecution alone, especially where there are Indictments on Indictments for the very same Passages, is sufficient to ruin an ordinary Tradesman: and therefore such an Attempt as this, by a private Man, ought to be discourag'd as much as possible, because 'twill render the Trade of Booksellers of very little use; since there are few Books worth reading, but it's the Interest of some ill Men or other by Prosecution to prevent the Sale of 'em; and consequently it tends to overthrow Liberty and Property, and to put the Fortune of *British* Men in the power of Informers, the very worst sort of Men, especially Clergy-Informers, who act contrary to their Duty when they have recourse to any other Weapon than that of the Spirit. And they who are forbid not only to strike, but to strive, ought to have recourse to no other Force than that of Arguments to convince Gainfayers.

If

If it be the Liberty of the Press (as all thinking Men agree) which secures our other Libertys, will not That be in a great measure restrain'd, if such Men as are against all Liberty, Civil and Ecclesiastical (as 'tis notorious the Railers at *the Rights* are) shall enter into a Conspiracy to worry Booksellers, and carry on malicious Prosecutions? And tho no Layman will be so scandalous as in such a Case to turn Informer, they will never want a Brother, who will be proud to take the Office upon himself.

Before I give you my Thoughts on the Passages taken out of *the Rights* as criminal, 'twill be necessary to observe what the Author of *the Rights* wou'd have the Reader take notice of in the perusing his Discourse; his words are Pref. p.48. these: " Tho in the following Discourse I
 " use the word *Clergy* in general, I wou'd not
 " be understood to mean those who maintain
 " the Principles of our establish'd Church, but
 " the Popish, Eastern, Presbyterian and Jacobitish
 " Clergy, who are infinitely the Majority. And I likewise desire the Reader to
 " take notice, That when I say, such Powers,
 " Privileges, &c. do not belong to the Clergy,
 " I do not mean by the Law of the Land,
 " but, as the Thred of the Discourse shews,
 " by Divine Right.

And now we will examine the Passages themselves, and the first is, pag. 78. *A Clergyman, 'tis said, is God's Ambassador, therefore the People neither Collective or Representative can make one, because they have no Power to send Embassadors from Heaven. But taking Embassadors in that sense, it will, I'm afraid, prove there are now no Clergymen; since they who pretend to the*
sole

sole Power of making 'em, can as little send an Ambassador from God, who alone chuses his own Embassadors. Christ, and his Apostles, as they were commission'd by God, so they brought their Credentials with 'em visible to Mankind, viz. the Power of working Miracles: But what Credential, or what Mission can these Gentlemen pretend to? or what Gospel, never before known to the World, are they to discover? Are they not at the best only Commentators, Note-makers or Sermon-makers on those Doctrines which the Embassadors of God once deliver'd to the Saints? which many of 'em have render'd by their absurd Glosses and false Comments so perplext and intricate, that only a new Commission from Heaven seems able to set 'em in their due Light; yet they do not scruple to call their Pulpit-Speeches, the Word of God, and apply those Texts to themselves, which belong only to the Embassadors of God. If there is any thing criminal in this Passage, it must be either in supposing the Clergy are not God's Embassadors, and sent by him as Christ and his Apostles were; for it's in that sense only that the Author of the *Rights* is afraid they are not God's Embassadors, taking Embassadors in that sense, &c. or else in supposing 'em only Commentators, Note-makers, or Sermon-makers on those Doctrines which the Embassadors of God once deliver'd to the Saints. I do not wonder if the Informer, and such like Priests, endeavor to persuade the World, that it's highly criminal not to allow 'em to be God's Embassadors, in the same sense as Christ and his Apostles were; for then the same absolute Obedience, the same implicit Faith is to be given to what they say, as if God himself had spoke it, since they as God's Embassadors

sadors represent his Person, and deliver his Will to Mankind. This is not setting up of only one Pope but of ten thousand, and placing each of 'em on the same level with our Saviour himself, as to an intire Submission of whatever he declares as God's Embassador. But can God send Embassadors on different and contrary Messages? or what shall the poor Laity do, when scarce any two of these pretended Embassadors agree in the Particulars of their Embassy? If they say they are God's Embassadors, because they are authoris'd by God to send one another: That, supposing it to be true, wou'd only prove that they had Authority from God to be one another's Embassadors; and our first reforming Clergy wou'd have the Honor to be the Embassadors of him whom our Church, in her Homilys, calls Antichrist, the Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition. But the Apostles were God's Embassadors (and it's in that sense that the Clergy are here deny'd to be Embassadors) because they were not sent by Man, or from Man, but by and from God, who gave 'em Divine Credentials to convince the World of their Divine Mission. But what Credentials have any now-a-days, to prove they are sent from God, as Christ and his Apostles were? If they say that their Divine Credentials consist in having Hands laid on them by Bishops; then their being sent, and their Credentials to prove it, are the very same thing; and the greatest Impostor, Schismatick, Heretick, whom the People are to flee as they wou'd the Devil, wou'd be an Embassador of God, if he had Hands laid on him by a Bishop. God never sends any on an Embassy to Mankind, except they are

are fit for the Dignity of that high Office, and bring with them a Message of such Importance, as is worthy of the great God who sent them: But we are to expect no new Embassadors from Heaven, because we are to expect no new Messages from thence; the whole Will or Counsel of God being manifested by Christ and his Apostles with such Plainness and Perspicuity, even to *Babes and Sucklings*, as is suitable to the infinite Wisdom and Goodness of God.

Whoever as an Ambassador of God shou'd pretend to reveal any other Doctrine than what was reveal'd almost 2000 years ago, and has ever since been in the hands of Christians, he wou'd prove himself to be an Ambassador of Satan, and was, according to *St. Paul*, to be accurs'd, tho an Angel from Heaven. And therefore since the Clergy have no new Will of God to reveal, nor can't be said to reveal that which was so long since reveal'd by the Holy Ghost, they can only be *Note-makers* or *Commentators* on that Word, which the *real* Embassadors of God formerly deliver'd to the Saints with the utmost Perspicuity and Plainness; but which has been rendred since very obscure and perplext by the false Comments and absurd Glosses of such as wou'd now pass for the Embassadors of God. This is so notorious a Truth, that the Clergy of the different Sects have, even from the beginning, complain'd of it with relation to one another, and do at this day continue to complain of it, and generally with too much reason: And they who will take the Title of God's Embassadors to themselves, will as little scruple, as we see in fact they do not, to apply those

Texts to themselves which belong only to Christ and the Apostles. And one wou'd think that in a Protestant Country, where none has any Authority to impose his Dictates on another, it had not been in the least criminal to own so much Reverence for Christ and his Apostles, as to make their being God's Embassadors a distinguishing Character between them and our ordinary Preachers. They who wou'd have this thought criminal, can with very little Grace object to the Popish Priests, their claiming more Power and Authority than belongs to their share: who indeed say, That if the Persons of the Embassadors of earthly Kings are so Sacred, as to be exempt from the Laws of the Country where they reside; with how much more reason ought the Embassadors of the great King of Heaven and Earth to have those Privileges, as well as infinitely greater Honor, than the Representatives of an earthly Prince? And I do not see how this can be deny'd 'em, if they are Embassadors in the proper and real sense of the word: and therefore all that I shall further say to justify this Quotation, is, That if any shou'd claim to themselves the Title of Embassador to an earthly King upon no better pretence, they wou'd with very much difficulty escape being sent either to *Bridewel* or *Bedlam*; Places which the Highfliers think those poor deluded People deserve to be sent to who are in earnest, and really believe they have Commissions from God, as his Embassadors, to give *Warnings* to Mankind.

The next Passage I shall take notice of is in pag. 108. *Among Christians, one no more than*

another can be reckon'd a Priest from Scripture, because the only Sacrifices of our Religion are Prayers, Praises, and Thanksgivings; which every one of the Congregation offers up for himself: and there's no more reason to affirm that the Minister offers up the Peoples Prayers, than they his; unless it can be suppos'd that God hears him only who talks loudest, in that he's the Servant of the Congregation, being imploy'd by them to speak with an audible Voice, that all may join together in offering up the same Prayers. And the Clerk has as good a Title to the Priesthood as the Parson; since the People join with him in offering up their Sacrifices of Spiritual Songs, Hymns, and Thanksgivings. To make this pertinent to the present purpose; Does not every one as well as the Minister equally apply the Bread and Wine to the same Holy and Spiritual Use, in commemorating the Benefits receiv'd by our Saviour, and in offering up the same Prayers, and desiring the same Blessings? And whoever does this with a due Application of Mind, rightly consecrates the Elements for himself, since this is the only Consecration they are capable of: Any thing further than this may rather be call'd Conjuratation than Consecration.

If any thing in this Section is contrary to Law, it must either be, the supposing the Ministers of the Gospel not to be Priests in the proper sense of the word, but only in a figurative sense, as is common to all Christians; or in the Notion of Consecration; or else in both.

As to the first, it's plain by what is here said, and what is added a few Lines further in this Section, where Priest and Sacrificer, and Priesthood and Sacrificing (tho by mistake

printed Sacrificer) are us'd as synonymous Terms, That by Priest is meant one who offers up Sacrifices; and consequently unless it can be prov'd, that it's contrary to Law to say that our Ministers are not, by Scripture, Priests or Sacrificers in such a proper and peculiar sense as can't be apply'd to other Christians, the Author of the *Rights* Notion of the Priesthood can't be criminal.

But if the *Rights* is to be condemn'd for giving the Title of Priests to Christians in general, the New Testament can't escape Censure, since that never gave the Title of Priests to the Gospel-Ministers; but on the contrary, as often as it applies that Title, it is to Christians in general. St. *Peter* in his first Epistle written to the *Strangers scatter'd thro Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bythinia*, says of
 1 Pet. 2. 5. them, *Ye also as lively Stones are built up a spiritual House, an Holy Priesthood, to offer up spiritual Sacrifices acceptable to God by Jesus Christ.* But how can this Holy Priesthood or Spiritual House be supported, if much the greater part of the lively Stones it is built with must be thrown aside, as unfit for a Spiritual Building or Holy Priesthood? In what an infinitely worse Condition does the Informer, and such modern Embassadors of God, place the Laity than St. *Peter* did? since they deny, that for want of being a Holy Priesthood, for want of being Spiritual Persons, they can offer up Spiritual Sacrifices acceptable to God. Whereas St. *Peter* supposes, that by their being Members of the Christian Church, or lively Stones of the Spiritual House, they are intitled to the Priesthood. Had St. *Peter* been now alive,

live, in all probability the Highfliers wou'd never have left preaching against him, till they had got some Grand Jury or other to indict him for reflecting on the Priesthood and the Clergy, since he applies the word *Cleros*, which we translate the *Heritage of God*, as well ^{2 Pet. 5.3.} as the Priesthood, to the People: Nay, which is more unpardonable in the eyes of High Church, he puts all Christians as such upon a level, and bids 'em, without distinction, *be all* ^{Ibid. v. 5.} *of 'em subject one to another.* Nor can I see how St. *John* cou'd escape better than St. *Peter*: for he not only repeats twice, and at a small distance, that *Christ has made us Priests unto* ^{Rev. 1. 6.} *God*, which shews he thought it a thing of ^{& 5. 10.} moment; but likewise gives it as a reason why all Christians are to render to our Saviour the highest Praises: for he says, *Unto him who has* ^{Rev. 1. 5, 6.} *lov'd us, and wash'd us from our Sins in his own Blood, and has made us Kings and Priests to God and his Father, be Glory and Dominion for ever and ever. Amen.*

They who deny that Christians as such are Priests, may as well deny that Christ has lov'd 'em, and wash'd 'em with his own Blood, since they are both join'd together, and one is the Consequence of the other: And by not allowing the Priesthood in common to all Christians, they not only rob 'em of their Rights, but likewise our Saviour himself in great measure of his Glory and Dominion, by taking away one of the Reasons why these are attributed to him. And they who will not suffer Christians to be Priests to God, will as little allow 'em to be Kings to God, that is free, as the most absolute Princes, from all human Imposition, and subject only to God in Matters of

Religion: And consequently if we are so much Christians as to make the Scripture our Rule, nothing can be plainer, than that all Christians alike have a Title to the Priesthood; and they can't consent to part with it without diminishing the Glory and Dominion of our Saviour.

One wou'd think that the Informer, and such like Ecclesiasticks, shou'd be satisfy'd in doing what they cou'd themselves to rob their Christian Brethren of their common Priesthood, and not expect that out of Complaisance to them these shou'd not only give up this Scripture-Right, this Scripture-Privilege, but most ungratefully use them ill, who defend 'em not only in this, but in all other their Spiritual Rights and Privileges: This is offering the highest Affront to their Understanding, and calling 'em Fools and Tools after the worst manner that can be. No, instead of parting with this spiritual Advantage, which Christ has purchas'd for 'em with his own Blood, they ought never to think of it, without rendering him the highest Eulogys, Praises and Thanksgivings.

As there is only one proper Sacrifice in the Christian Religion, so there is but one Sacrificer or Priest in the proper Sense of the Word, and that is our Saviour himself; who, as our Church declares, *made by one Oblation of himself, once offer'd up, a full, perfect, sufficient Sacrifice, Oblation, and Satisfaction, for the Sins of the whole World.* And consequently whoever assumes to himself a Priesthood in the proper Sense of the Word, either invades the Office of the Son of God, or else brings us back to a *Levitical* Priesthood; which is supposing the
Lamb

Lamb of God is not yet slain, or has not yet made, by one Oblation of himself once offer'd up, a full, perfect, and sufficient Sacrifice for the Sins of the whole World: or else he must run into the Popish Notion of the Priest, one who turns a Bit of Bread into God, and then both sacrifices and eats him.

But as the Church of *England* calls the Sacrifices of the Popish Priests *dangerous Deceits and blasphemous Fables*; so in the Office of Communion it is said not of the Minister alone, but of and by all the Communicants, That *we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, our selves, our Souls and Bodys, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively Sacrifice; altho we are unworthy, thro our manifold Sins, to offer thee any Sacrifice*: Which shows how by that Service all are alike esteem'd Sacrificers or Priests, in offering up all they are capable, their very Bodys and Souls. And indeed we can't allow our Ministers to be Priests in a real and proper sense, without allowing any real and proper Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ: and therefore Protestant Divines, both at home and abroad, have always oppos'd the Notion of a real Priesthood; but now Dr. *Hicks* and the *Rehearsal*-Writer, profess'd Nonjurors and notorious Schismatics from the Church of *England*, have appear'd bare-fac'd in their Answers to the *Rights*, for the Popish Notion of the Ministers being Priests in the proper Sense of the Word: Tho Dr. *Hicks*, when he wou'd have been thought a Protestant and of the Church of *England*, distinguishes between Ministers and Priests; and *pitiful Sacrificulus* is the Title he gives to the Priests of the *Gallican Church*, now so much magnify'd by the *Jacobites*. But

Artic. 13.

True
Notion
of Per-
secution
stated,
p. 29.

Pag. 68.

other Adversarys of the *Rights* will not chime in with 'em in their Notion of a proper Priesthood. Dr. *Turner*, for instance, in his Answer to the *Rights*, says; " Tho we Christians have
 " now no other Sacrifice to offer than our
 " Prayers and Praises, yet by the same Figure
 " by which in Scripture Prayers and Praises
 " are call'd Sacrifices, the Persons who minister in those Prayers may be call'd Priests. This the Author of the *Rights* is so far from denying, that he thinks by the same Figure not only the Parson and Clerk, but the whole Congregation may be call'd so, since they are equally concern'd with them in offering up the same Praises and Prayers.

If the *Rights* had declar'd the Clergy to be Priests in a Sense not common to all Christians, Low-Church might prosecute the Bookseller with a better colour, as selling a Book which favours that Popish Notion, which our Church declares to be a *dangerous Deceit* and *blasphemous Fable*. But Authors and Booksellers have a very bad time of it, if on one hand they must be prosecuted by Low-Church for saying Ministers are Priests in the proper Sense of the Word; and by High-Church, if they maintain the contrary. But these, it seems, are willing to put an unusual Compliment on a Lay-Jury and Lay-Judges, by referring the matter to their Determination. And the better to qualify them to form a right Judgment, I shall sum up what is urg'd by the *Rehearsal* or *Wolf Stript*, in behalf of a real Priesthood.

P. 17.

" Christ, says he, left behind him a Priest-
 " hood on Earth, to celebrate the same Wor-
 " ship, and offer the same unbloody Sacrifice
 " of his Body and Blood, which he in Person
 " per-

“ perpetually performs in Heaven ; the same
 “ Atonement and Sacrifice for Sin being of-
 “ fer’d up by both. *St. Paul* in distinguishing
 between the Jewish Priests and our Saviour,
 says of him, *That he needed not daily, as those* Heb. 7. 27.
High Priests, to offer up Sacrifice ; for this he did
once when he offer’d up himself : not that he shou’d
offer himself often——But now once in the end Ch. 9. 25,
of the World has he appear’d to put away Sin by 26, 28. —
the Sacrifice of himself ; so Christ was once offer’d
to bear the Sins of many. This Man after he had Ch. 10.
offer’d one Sacrifice for Sin, for ever sat down at 12, 14.
the Right Hand of God : By one Offering he has
perfected for ever them who are sanctify’d. But
 tho there are a great many more Texts to the
 same purpose, yet the *Rehearsal*-Writer and
 the Papists, as it were in defiance of the Scrip-
 tures, maintain, That as Christ is constantly
 offering up his Body in Heaven, so he appoin-
 ted Priests perpetually to offer it up on Earth.
 But I no where find in Scripture, that Christ
 ordain’d Priests to offer Sacrifice, whether
 bloody or unbloody, of his Body and Blood ;
 tho an unbloody Sacrifice of Blood is a Notion
 which very well sutes with the other Absur-
 ditys of the High-Flyers in this matter. Dr.
Hicks seems to be for a bloody Sacrifice in quo- Book,
 ting Father *Chrysostom* as saying, “ When thou p. 58.
 “ shalt see the Lord sacrific’d, and the Priest
 “ standing over the Sacrifice——and the People
 “ dyed red with his Blood, &c.
 The *Rehearsal* says, “ To offer up the same P. 15.
 “ Sacrifice in figure which Christ in reality
 “ daily offers up to his Father in Heaven, is
 “ the most solemn and proper Priesthood that
 “ God ever committed to the hands of Men.
 But if it be only a Sacrifice in figure that the
 Priests

P. 16.

Priests offer, one wou'd be apt to think that they had not a proper, but only a figurative Priesthood; and that theirs cou'd be no more the same Sacrifice with Christ's (supposing he was continually sacrificing himself) than the Figure of a thing cou'd be the Thing it self. But he says, they offer a *commemorative* Sacrifice: But if the Sacrifice they offer consists in commemorating the Sufferings and Death of Christ, and every one equally commemorates them; every one equally offers up a commemorative Sacrifice, and so are equally commemorative Priests. Tho our Prayers and Praises may by a Figure be call'd Sacrifices, because we offer 'em up to God; yet there's no ground to call, even in a figurative sense, the commemorating the Death of our Saviour by the instituted Signs of Bread and Wine, a Sacrifice; since the Bread and Wine are not offer'd up to God, much less offer'd by any Priest for the Expiation of the Sins of the People. And if the commemorating our Saviour's Death by Words, has nothing of a Sacrifice in it, I can see no reason why doing the same thing, by receiving of Bread and Wine (which here like Words are only instituted Signs to express our Commemoration) shou'd any more have the nature of a Sacrifice. But if it had, and the doing of this made figurative, commemorative, or real Priests; the People wou'd as much be Priests as the Ministers, since they are alike equally concern'd in it.

Having, I suppose, said enough to this Branch of the Accusation relating to the Priesthood, I shall now consider the other concerning Consecration. If the Bread and Wine we receive at the Lord's Supper be not transub-

substantiated into the Body and Blood of Christ, but still remains Bread and Wine; how can we distinguish that Bread and Wine from common Bread and Wine, but by applying 'em, as our Saviour directs, to the commemorating of his Passion and Death? And consequently, if the manner of using 'em is that alone in which their distinction from common Bread and Wine consists, all the Consecration which Men can give, consists only in their using 'em after that holy manner. Nor indeed can we have any other meaning of Consecration, when 'tis spoken of Mens consecrating Inanimate Things, than of applying 'em with a true and lively Faith to that holy and spiritual Use which God ordains: and if every one does this for himself in receiving the Sacrament, does he not consecrate the Bread and Wine for himself? The Minister can no more apply 'em to this Use for the Congregation, than they for him: This every one must do for himself, and in so doing he does all that's requir'd for his receiving the Sacrament worthily; and whoever fails in doing this, the Sacrament, notwithstanding any pretended Priestly Consecration, is profanely taken by him.

The principal and substantial Holiness or Consecration of the Sacraments is owing to God the Institutor, who ordain'd 'em to such a Use; and all the Holiness or Consecration we Mortals can be suppos'd to contribute, is the taking 'em as God directs.

There are no such words in the New Testament, as Consecrating of the Bread and Wine; but *St. Paul* speaking of himself and the People of *Corinth*, to whom he writes, says, *The Cup of Blessing which We bless, is it not the Communion*

1 Cor. 10. *munion of the Blood of Christ? The Bread which*
 16, 17. *We break, is it not the Communion of the Body of*
Christ? For We being many, are one Bread and
one Body; for We are all Partakers of that one
Bread. So that according to the Apostle all
 the Partakers (for *We* all along relates to the
 same Persons) were concern'd in breaking the
 Bread and blessing the Cup: And if nothing
 can be meant by the Partakers blessing the Cup,
 except their desiring a Blessing from God on
 their receiving it; and if Blessing and Con-
 secrating the Cup be the same thing, every
 one is as much bound to bless and consecrate
 the Cup for himself, as he is to desire a Blessing
 for himself on his taking it.

The Adversarys of the Author of the *Rights*
 say, That in this Passage he ridicules the
 Consecration us'd in the Church of *England*:
 But this is a very strange *Innuendo*, since he
 mentions nothing of the Church, but only
 writes in general of the nature of Consecra-
 tion, and wherein it consists; and he who
 writes in vindication of the Church, ought not
 to be presum'd to design a Reflection on it.
 And by these words, *Any thing further than this*
may rather be call'd Conjurat[i]on than Consecration,
 if one part of his Book may be explain'd by
 another, he had no other Intent than to reflect
 on Transubstantiation; as may be seen in pag.
 104, 396, 398. And I can see no reason why
 it shou'd be a Crime in the Author of the
Rights to talk thus freely of a thing, to which
 all Protestant Divines think they can't give
 Names bad enough; and which Archbishop
Tillotson, in his Discourse of Transubstantiation,
 calls *Hocus Pocus*, and adds, " That in all
 " probability those common juggling words
 " are

“ are nothing else but a Corruption of *Hoc est*
“ *Corpus*, by way of ridiculous imitation of
“ the Priests of *Rome*, in their Trick of Tran-
“ substantiation. And were it not for the
fake of some such *Trick*, it had never been
pretended that there was a Medium between
the Consecration the Author of the *Rights* con-
tends for, and that of *Rome*; which if the
happy Genius of the Informer, or any of his
Reverend Brethren, has discover'd, they can no
doubt express it in such words as every one is
capable of understanding: since if it be cri-
minal not to extend Consecration further than
the *Rights* does, and as criminal to extend it
as far as the Papists do, every one ought to
know the Medium; which if they can't make
out, it's they who bring the highest Reflection
on the Church.

In the Church of *England*, 'tis not the Mi-
nister, but the Church-wardens, who at the
expençe of the Parish set apart so much Bread
and Wine as they judg necessary for the holy
Use of receiving the blessed Sacrament: And
therefore if Consecration consisted in this, it
wou'd not belong to the Minister; and con-
sequently it must consist in something done
with relation to the receiving the Bread and
Wine the Church-wardens provide. And a-
greeably to what *St. Paul* says of all the Par-
takers being concern'd in blessing the Cup, all
the Congregation join in the *Prayer of Conse-*
cration, as 'tis expressly call'd in the Com-
munion Service; which Prayer the Minister
pronounces with an audible Voice, that all
may join in it. And as our Church, in the
Rubrick of the Communion Service, makes
Consecrating and Blessing the Bread and Wine
to

to be the same thing, so Blessing 'em is a figurative Expression, and can only mean praying for a Blessing on the receiving of the Bread and Wine; in which Prayer if every one join, every one consecrates and blesses the Bread and Wine: And when the Minister is said to consecrate or bless the Bread and Wine, it ought to be interpreted according to the common way of speaking, when we say the Minister says Grace, blesses the Meat, gives Thanks, which is not exclusive of the rest of the Company, who are as much bound to do this as he; only the Action is imputed to him, because he alone pronounces the Words aloud. And it can be for no other reason that the Minister in the *Rubrick* is said to say the Prayer of Consecration; in which Prayer if every one of the Congregation join, every one alike consecrates the Elements for himself: so that there's nothing more agreeable to the Author of the *Rights* Notion of Consecration, than the Consecration us'd in the Church of *England*. 'Tis true, the Minister lays his Hands on the Bread and Wine before they are touch'd by the People; yet none can suppose that the Prayer of Consecration wou'd not be as effectual if that Ceremony (how comely soever and void of Superstition) was omitted. Were that Ceremony any wise necessary, we shou'd have learnt it from *St. Paul*, who tells us, *That every Creature of God is sanctify'd by the Word of God and Prayer*. And as every one is concern'd in the Prayer of Consecration, so the Minister's reading after that Prayer what Christ said when he instituted the Sacrament, is to put People in remembrance of the reason of its Institution; and they

1 Tim. 4.
4, 5.

they who hear it read, have the same advantage by it as he who reads it, tho every one who can read may read it along with him. For tho the Papists forbid the People to read the Scripture, yet there is so little Superstition in our Church, that Lay-men in College-Chapels, where the Clergy are numerous, and in Cathedrals, even tho the Bishops be present, read this and much larger Portions of Scripture, when they read the first and second Lessons. But I refer the Reader to what Mr. *Hales* has said on this Head, in those Tracts of his which are annex'd to this Defence.

What I shall further remark is only this, That St. *Paul* disclaims all Authority to enforce what he lays down in this matter, and plainly refers the Reasonableness of what he says to the People of *Corinth's* own Judgment; *I speak as to wise Men, judg ye what I say:* And then immediately adds, *The Cup of Blessing which We bless,* &c. Had the Gentlemen of the Grand Jury follow'd St. *Paul's* Advice, and judg'd for themselves as Wise Men, they wou'd have been so far from indicting the Bookseller for what is said in the *Rights* relating to this matter, that they wou'd have seen St. *Paul's* Notion of Blessing or Consecrating is exactly agreeable to what is there laid down. And 'tis no Compliment to the Church of *England*, to suppose that she disagrees with St. *Paul*, who, let him give what Advice he pleases, yet too many of those who pretend to be his Successors and God's Embassadors, have been so far from suffering the People to judg for themselves, as Wise Men ought to do, in this simple and plain Institution, that they have forc'd 'em to own more absurd and monstrous Notions

tions than ever were heard of in the most barbarous Nations, in order, among other things, to make the Ministers Priests, in a real and proper Sense of the Word.

People ought seriously to consider what Advantage the Papists will make of this Prosecution, when they see a Man indicted by a Protestant Jury, and prosecuted by a Minister of the Church of *England*, for selling a Book, in which are reckon'd as obnoxious Passages, those which oppose the Popish Notion of a Priest, and the Popish Notion of Consecration. Wou'd to God these were the only Popish Notions which the High-Fliers come into!

The next Passage I shall consider, is recited in the first Indictment only, and is taken from pag. 151. The words are: *The Jews when they came out of the Land of Bondage were under no settl'd Government, till God was pleas'd to offer himself to be their King, to which all the People expressly consented; and upon the Covenant's being ratify'd after the most solemn manner as cou'd be, God gave them those Laws, which bound no Nation except those that had agreed to the Horeb Contract.*

Nothing can be plainer from Scripture, than that God, after he had accepted the Political Government of the Jews, wou'd reign no longer over 'em than they were willing: for the Lord says to Samuel, upon the Jews petitioning for a King, such as the Nations had; *Hearken to the Voice of the People in all that they shall say unto thee, for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected Me from reigning over 'em.* And in the same Chapter the Lord bids Samuel no less than thrice to hearken to the Voice of the People, tho it was for rejecting God himself from reigning over 'em; which

which shews the great regard that God had to the Voice of the People in matters relating to their Government. And if God wou'd reign no longer over the Jews than they were consenting, it can be no Crime, tho it shou'd prove a Mistake, to say that God wou'd not at first reign over 'em without their Consent, tho that I think is as plain from Scripture as the other. *For Moses went up to God, and the* Exod. 19.
Lord call'd to him out of the Mountain, saying, Thus shalt thou say to the House of Jacob, and tell the Children of Israel, Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on Eagles Wings, and brought you unto my self. Now therefore if ye will obey my Voice indeed, and keep my Covenant (the Covenant he then propos'd to 'em) then ye shall be a peculiar Treasure unto me above all People, for all the Earth is mine; and ye shall be unto me a Kingdom of Priests, and an Holy Nation. . These are the Words which thou shalt speak unto the Children of Israel. So that here God condescends to make use of two Arguments to persuade the Children of Israel to agree to this Covenant, by which they were to become a Kingdom to him; What he had already done for 'em; and What, if they chose him for their King, he wou'd further do for 'em. Now therefore, &c. And it's plain the Children of Israel apprehended this to be the meaning of the Words: For Moses, as God commanded him, came and call'd for the Elders of the People, and laid before their Faces all these Words. Which the Lord commanded him; and all the People answer'd together, and said, All that the Lord has spoken we will do: and Moses return'd the Words of the People unto the Lord. And what is this but giving their Con-

H

sent,

sent, in as exprefs manner as cou'd be, to the Covenant the Lord propos'd?

For God, who knows the Hearts of Men, need not have sent *Moses* to learn of the People what their Minds were; nor need he have order'd *Moses* to return to him the Words of the People. This cou'd not be done, because God was ignorant of their Words; but that the Covenant, God propos'd to the People, shou'd be made after the most solemn manner that cou'd be: for God having not as yet appear'd to the People, *Moses* is chosen by God as a Mediator, to transact this Affair between him and them. And accordingly he goes from the Lord with a Proposal to the People, which was for them to become a Kingdom to him, and consequently for him to become their King. To which Proposal, after the People had expressly agreed, there not being so much as one Negative in the whole Congregation; he returns to the Lord from the People, and in their behalf gives the Lord the very Words, by which they had express'd their Consent to

Deut. 5. 4. his Proposal: And then the Lord *came down on Mount Sinai, in the Sight of 'em all, and talk'd with 'em Face to Face*, and dictated the Law by which they were afterwards to be govern'd. And *Moses*, before he repeats the Law, says,

Deut. 5. 2, 3. *The Lord our God made a Covenant with us in Horeb; the Lord made not this Covenant with our Fathers, but with us, who are all of us alive here at this day.* This Introduction wou'd be impertinent, were not the *Horeb* Contract or Covenant (which are synonymous terms) the Foundation on which the Law was built: Nay, the Law and the Covenant are frequently made use of to signify the same thing; and nothing can

can be more evident, than that the whole Body of the *Jewish* Laws was enacted by God, pursuant to the Covenant, as King of the *Jews*, and not as Supreme Governor of the World; since they bound no other Nation except that which had consented to the *Horeb* Covenant. It's true, there are several moral things in the *Jewish* Laws, as there are in the Laws of all Nations whatever, which are obligatory to all Mankind; but then 'tis by virtue of their own obliging Force, and not by reason of their being made a part of the *Jewish* Law, since without that they equally bind. "There's
 " nothing, as Mr. *Lock* observes, more frivolous (as to this purpose) than that common
 " Distinction of Moral, Judicial, and Ceremonial Laws, which Men ordinarily make
 " use of; for no positive Law whatever can
 " oblige any People but those to whom it is
 " given. *Hear, O Israel*, sufficiently restrains the
 Obligation of the Law of *Moses* only to that
 People.

*Letter of
 Tolerat.
 P. 51.*

And 'tis further evident, that God gave the *Jews* the whole Body of their Laws as their King or Civil Magistrate, since they are all enacted on temporal Sanctions; no Penalty except what relates to this Life being annex'd to the Breach of any of 'em, no not even of those which concern their Temple and their Worship. And tho no doubt God punish'd the *Jews* in the next World who broke the Laws of their Country, as he did the Violaters of such Laws in other Nations; yet this he did as God: But as Political Governor of the *Jews*, he, like other Civil Legislators, annex'd only temporal Sanctions. In taking a Bird's Nest, 'tis said, *Thou shalt in any wise let the*

Deut. 22. *Dam go, that it may be well with thee, and that*
 6, 7. *thou mayst prolong thy Days*; which is the only
 Reward mention'd in the whole Law, for any
 Matter relating to God and his Worship.

And God not only acted the part of a Civil
 Legislator, in enacting Laws with Punishments
 and Rewards, relating to this Life alone; but
 he likewise put his own Laws in execution, and
 determin'd himself the Causes of the greatest
 moment. He not only pronounc'd Sentence
 himself in criminal Matters, as in the Case of
 the Gatherer of Sticks on the Sabbath-day,
 and of him who was guilty of Blasphemy or
 Treason, but in Civil Causes likewise; and
 settl'd the Right of Inheritance in the Case
 of the Daughters of *Zelophehad*. And the Reason
 why Causes of moment were so generally
 brought before the High Priest, was,
 because he wore the *Urim*, by which he cou'd
 consult God; and for this reason 'twas com-
 manded *Joshua*, that he shou'd stand before *E-*
leazar the Priest, who shall ask Counsel for him,
after the Judgment of the Urim, before the Lord.
 And when God did not himself judg, he ap-
 pointed such Judges as were guided by the im-
 mediate Impulse of his Spirit; nay, no one
 was advanc'd to the Exercise of any publick
 Office without the Consent of God, and they
 acted in God's Name, and their Judgment was
 call'd the Judgment of God. And in some
 Cases they were assisted miraculously in making
 Discoverys, as the bitter Waters, the Trial of
 Jealousy, did most miraculously discover an
 Adulteress; and from the account of *Saul's*
 going to *Samuel*, to know what was become
 of his Father's Asses, 'tis plain there were
Seers, who for a fourth part of a Shekel, or
 some

some such small piece of Mony, cou'd discover stolen Goods.

And it was not in their Civil and Domestick Affairs only, that God in Person exercis'd Supreme Jurisdiction, but he likewise order'd their Foreign and Military Affairs: for no Leagues Josh. 9. were to be made with the Nations round about 14, 16. 'em, without first obtaining leave from the Judg. 1. 1. Lord; nor were there any War to be under- Judg. 20. taken without first consulting him. Nay, God 18, 28. himself fought for 'em, as *Joshua* says twice in Josh. 23. the same Chapter; and to impress this the 3, 10. deeper into the Minds of the *Israelites*, he instances in what Cases God had fought for 'em, Josh. 24. and what Nations, under his Conduct, they had conquer'd.

To explain this Matter more fully: *Moses* had no sooner return'd the Words of the People to the Lord, wherein they agreed to take him for their King, than he gave Orders for preparing a Tabernacle for himself, as he himself says, *That I may dwell amongst 'em*; and Josh. 21. 3. this Tabernacle, like a Royal Tent, was plac'd in the midst of the Camp: for the *Israelites* march'd after a military manner in the Wilderness, being divided into four Troops, with each their Standards, and encamp'd about the Tent Num. 10. of their General, or Lord of Hosts, as he is frequently call'd; who, after the manner of Deut. 23. other Generals, took care to prevent all Sur- 14. prize. How their King and General guarded Psal. 68. 7. 'em in the Wilderness, is plain from this Text, *The Egyptians have heard that thou Lord art amongst this People, that thou art seen Face to Face, that thou goest before 'em by Day in a Pillar of a Cloud, and by Night in a Pillar of Fire.* And the Ark, which was the Symbol of the Divine

Presence, always mov'd first when the *Israelites* went on any warlike Expedition. Hence it
 Num. 10. was that, when the Ark set forward, *Moses*
 5, 35. said, *Rise up Lord, and let thy Enemys be scatter'd*; and when it rested, *Return to the many Thousands of Israel*: And when the Ark went three days before 'em to find out a Resting-
 Num. 10. place, it is said, *The Lord your God went in*
 33. com- *the way before you*. And 'tis not strange that
 par'd with God, when he acted as a General (the Ark
 Deut. 1. 33 sustaining his Place) shou'd be in the first Rank, and that he as Lord of their Host shou'd lead 'em on in all Engagements. As there are a great number of Texts to this purpose, of which none in the least acquainted with the Scripture can be ignorant; so I may venture to say, that never any Eastern Monarch appear'd more among his People, or left so little of the Management of Affairs, relating either to Peace or War, to his Ministers, as God did during the Theocracy, till the *Jews* rejected him from being their King; or, as *Josephus* expresses it, *unvoted* him of his Kingdom.

See Har-
 rington,
 p. 251.

What to me seems most surprising in this whole Matter is, not so much God's reigning over the *Jews* with their own Consent, and no longer than they consented, as his great Condescension in reigning at all over 'em, after the same manner as temporal Princes do; a Favour he never vouchsaf'd to any other Nation.

And the reason why God wou'd not reign over the *Jews*, till they had agreed to the Covenant he propos'd to 'em by *Moses*, seems to be, because, by his Law of Nature having allow'd Mankind a Right of chusing their own
 Govern

Governors, he wou'd not as King deprive 'em of a Right which he had before as God given 'em in common with the rest of the World: And in this no doubt he design'd to shew an Example to the great Men of the Earth, not by Force and Violence to impose on a free People, as the *Jews* were on their coming out of the Land of *Egypt*. And in this I am the more confirm'd, since we find that when God the Son was made Flesh, and dwelt among us, he, neither as God or Man, wou'd judg in any Political Matter for want of a human Commission; *Who made me a Judg in Israel?*

But because what the Author of the *Rights* has said in this Matter, is not only insert'd in an Indictment, but in several Sermons and other Discourses is represented as blasphemous, I shall mention what two of our own Divines, as learned as ever the Nation cou'd boast of, and particularly famous for their great Skill in what relates to the *Jewish* Oeconomy, have said on this Head; and these two are Dr. *Patrick*, late Bishop of *Ely*, and Dr. *Spencer*, not long since Dean of *Ely*. The first says, in his Commentary on the 19th of *Exodus*, " That
" the very Foundation of God's peculiar Em-
" pire over the *Jews* was, that he had ran-
" som'd and redeem'd 'em out of Slavery.
And the Words he sent by *Moses* to the People he paraphrases thus: " If you will sin-
" cerely obey me as your King and Governor,
" and keep the Covenant I intend to make
" with you; then you shall be mine above all
" the People in the Earth, my peculiar Inhe-
" rittance, my Kingdom, &c. And the Answer of the People to God's Message by *Moses*

he explains thus : “ They consented to have
 “ God for their King; *and adds*, Till they had
 “ own’d him for the Lord their God, *i. e.*
 “ their King and Governor, he did not speak
 “ to ’em at all, but only to *Moses*, who plain-
 “ ly acted as a Mediator between God and
 “ the People : But now that they had con-
 “ sented to be his, he resolv’d to speak audibly
 “ amongst ’em, and to dwell amongst ’em,
 “ and after a few days Preparation to declare
 “ the Law by which they shou’d be govern’d.
 So that this Right Reverend Father in God, as
 well as the Author of *the Rights*, supposes this
 Covenant relates to God being their King,
 and lays as great a stress on the Consent of
 the People : nay, he goes further than the Au-
 thor of *the Rights*, and does not only say that
 God gave ’em their Laws as their King, on
 their consenting to have him so, which he calls
 a Consent in general; but affirms, “ They
 “ consented in particular to all the Laws men-
 “ tion’d in the 20th, 21st, 22d, and 23d
 “ Chapters, and that in the 24th these Laws
 “ past into Covenant between God and Them;
 and mentions all the Solemnitys observ’d by
 God and the People in making this Cove-
 nant. But because he agrees with *Dr. Spencer*,
 I shall give an account of ’em, in relating
 what he says.

And he in his Treatise *de Legibus Hebraeo-
 rum* (where he has shown a most profound
 Judgment as well as immense Learning) has a
 whole Dissertation concerning the *Jewish* Theo-
 cracy, and in his Introduction distinguishes be-
 tween God’s Natural Monarchy over all Man-
 kind, and his Civil Monarchy over the *Jews*;
 which,

which, he says, “ is that * which he held amongst ’em by virtue of a solemn Compact, by which the Name of a King, and the Disposal of all their Affairs, on a certain Condition was bestow’d on God. And in the second Chapter he says, “ That † God, in taking the Name and Office of a King, accommodated himself to the Conditions of those Times, and did not refuse to be admitted to that Office after the Manner and Form us’d in the Election and Inauguration of Princes. For,

“ (1.) God, after the manner of Men courting an Office, puts ’em in mind of some late Instances of his great Power and Wisdom, that they might see that none cou’d sustain the Person of a King with greater Dignity than himself; then in plain words God shews how grateful and acceptable that Office wou’d be to him, and that he wou’d not only take the whole Nation into his Care and Protection, but into his Bosom and intimate Affection.

“ (2.) That the People accepted of the Terms, and with joint Suffrages chose God for their King; who because he was, after the manner of other Captains, to lead the *Israelitish* Cohorts, did not disdain to sub-

* *Civilis est ea quam Deus inter Israelitas tenebat jure solemnisi pacti, quo nomen Regis inter eos & rerum omnium arbitrium certa conditione Deo deferrebat.*

† Cum Deo visum est humano more cum Hebræis agere, & Regis aut Imperatoris Civilis Nomen & Officium gerere, sic temporum illorum conditioni sese accommodavit, ut ad munus illud modo & forma in Principum electione & inauguratione usitatis admitti non recusaret.

“ mit

- “ mit to their Weakness; and, according to
 “ what was perhaps the Custom of the Age,
 “ to be chosen by ’em for their Emperor.
 “ Nay, he says *, ’tis evident, God waited
 “ or attended to be elected by the Army of
 “ *Israel*, and that he was accordingly chosen
 “ by ’em; and that his Goodness was such,
 “ that he seems to make no small account of
 “ this Consent and Election of the People:
 “ for as soon as *Moses* had return’d the Con-
 “ sent of the People to the Lord, he began to
 “ treat with *Moses* about manifesting himself,
 “ and of building a Tabernacle for a Palace or
 Exod. 24. “ Royal Habitation for himself, and of fra-
 3. com- “ ming Laws relating to their Polity and
 par’d with “ Worship, whereas before he had mention’d
 25. 20. “ nothing of this Matter.
 “ (3.) That God and the *Israelites*, after
 “ the manner of Kings and Subjects, were
 “ bound by a mutual League to each other;
 “ for God being chosen to the Regal Office,
 “ does most sacredly promise, That the *Jews*
 “ shall be a peculiar People to him, and that
 Exod. 23. “ he will conduct ’em into the Land of *Ca-*
 20. “ *naan*: On the other hand, the People most
 Exod. 24. “ religiously, and with one Voice, promise
 37. “ to observe all God’s Laws. And he adds,
 V. 17, 18. “ That this Stipulation is most fully explain’d
 “ *Deut.* 26. where *Moses* says, This day thou
 “ hast chosen *Jehovah* to be to thee *Elohim*,
 “ Lord or Emperor, &c. and the Lord has
 “ chosen thee to be a peculiar People, &c.

* Quibus liquidum est Deum electionem suam ab exercitu Israelitico præstolatum fuisse, eumque ab Israeliticis electum fuisse.

In our Translation it is, Thou hast avouch'd the Lord this day to be thy God ; whereas he shews that *Elohim*, which we translate God, P. 203. is a Name given to Angels, to Princes, and other great Men, and signifies that Power which is in common to God with other Magistrates.

“ (4.) The League by which God and the
 “ *Israelites* became bound to each other, was
 “ ratify'd by such Ceremonys as were then
 “ us'd in the Election of Princes, which he
 “ supposes to be the Sprinkling of the Blood
 “ of a Victim on the Covenanters, and their
 “ eating together some of the Sacrifice : which
 “ Rites, he says, he shall not scruple to af-
 “ firm were us'd by God and the People in
 “ establishing this Covenant. For when *Mo-*
 “ *ses* had writ the Promises and Precepts of *Exod. 24.*
 “ God in a Book, and the People had again 4,
 “ given their Consent, he took half the Blood
 “ of the Beasts then sacrific'd, and sprinkled
 “ it on the Altar, which was to supply the *Ver. 6.*
 “ Place of God, and the other half on the
 “ People ; and then he says, Behold the Blood *Ver. 8.*
 “ of the Covenant which the Lord has made
 “ with you concerning all these Words. And
 “ after this Ceremony was over, that nothing
 “ might be wanting to the Validity of the
 “ Covenant, *Moses, Aaron*, and the 72 El-
 “ ders, who represent the People, ascend up
 “ into the Mount, where they saw God, and
 “ did eat and drink out of the Sacrifices men-
 “ tion'd *ver. 5.*” And the Bishop of *Ely* says,
 “ That after they saw God, they were so far
 “ from receiving any harm, that they feasted
 “ with him upon the Relicts of the Peace-
 “ Offerings with great Joy and Gladness.

This,

This, tho you know I have omitted the greatest part of what these two learned Men have said on this Head, is sufficient to prove, That the *Jews*, besides being subject, as all other People are by virtue of their Creation, to God's eternal Power, became in a particular and peculiar manner a People and a Kingdom to him, by virtue of the *Horeb* Covenant. And I think whoever considers this Matter impartially, must needs see it as plainly made out as can be expected from a Book writ so long since as the *Pentateuch*; which, by distance of time, must unavoidably bring some Obscurity with it: Of which Obscurity it may not be amiss to give one Instance, which occurs in the handling this Point. It's said, *The Lord talk'd with the People*

Deut. 5. 4.

Exod. 24.

10. & 33.

II.

of Israel Face to Face; that *the Elders saw God in the Mount*; and that *the Lord spake to Moses Face to Face, as a Man speaks to his Friend*. And yet, in the same Chapter, 'tis said, *Thou canst not see my Face, for there shall no Man see me and live. I will put thee into a Cleft of a Rock, and cover thee with my Hand; and thou shalt see my Back-parts, but my Face shall not be seen*.

Tho both the Bishop and Dean of *Ely* have so fully and so largely writ concerning God's Civil Dominion over the *Jews* being founded on the *Horeb* Contract; yet no one has charg'd either of 'em, as speaking in the least irreverently of God. What then can the reason be, why the Author of *the Rights*, who has only touch'd on this Point, shou'd be charg'd with Blasphemy, both from the Press and the Pulpit? Must it not be, that they who make this noise are angry at somewhat else he has advanc'd, and which they know not how to oppose;

oppose; and therefore make use of this as a handle to prejudice and incense the People against him? Whereas what he has asserted relating to the *Horeb* Covenant, is consonant to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, if Mr. *Hooker* may be allow'd to be a Judge of it.

“ When all, says this Judicious Person, which
 “ the Wisdom of all sorts can do for the de-
 “ vising of Laws in the Church, it is the ge-
 “ neral Consent of all that gives them the
 “ Form and Vigour of Laws—Laws cou’d
 “ they never be without the Consent of the
 “ whole Church, to be guided by them;
 “ whereunto both Nature and the Practice of
 “ the Church of God, set down in Scripture,
 “ is found every way so fully consonant, that
 “ God himself wou’d not impose, not his own
 “ Laws, upon his People by the hands of *Mo-*
 “ *ses*, without their *free and open* Consent.

Eccles.
 Polity,
 Book 8. p.
 459.
 Ed. 1682.

But because Dr. *Hicks* says, *The Folly and* Pref.p.105
Blasphemy of his Horeb Contract hath been fully
and convincingly set forth in the Rehearsal, and
 the Preachers have taken what they say from
 him; ’twill be necessary to consider what new
 Discovery he has made, to prove that this
 Doctrine, which all along has past for Ortho-
 dox, as shewing the great Goodness and Con-
 descension of God, is now become downright
 Blasphemy. He says, “ I stand amaz’d at the wolf
 “ Assurance and Ignorance of this Author: Script, 2d
 “ and his Reason is, that there’s nothing in Part, p. 53,
 “ the Chapters quoted by him that looks like 54.
 “ a Contract, but the direct contrary; for
 “ God appear’d at *Horeb* with great Majesty
 “ and Terror, insomuch that the People
 “ thought they cou’d not live if they saw
 “ that sight any more. And God was so far
 “ from

“ from suffering ’em to enter into any Treaty
 “ with him, that he wou’d not permit ’em to
 “ speak to him. The People did indeed pro-
 “ mise to obey the Law which God gave ’em;
 “ in which he did not consult ’em, but de-
 “ clares the end of his appearing was to put
 “ his Fear into ’em. Then as if he had intire-
 ly defeated his Adversary, he insults and tri-
 umphs, in saying, “ Is this an Original Con-
 “ tract, a Bargain made equally on both sides
 “ with Conditions and Limitations? Where
 “ is the Claim of Right to be seen, which the
 “ People reserv’d to themselves for their own
 “ Security?

To give what this does not deserve, a se-
 rious Answer: God, as has been already shewn,
 did not appear to the People till the Covenant
 he transacted by his Embassador *Moses* was a-
 greed to by them; and his appearing after-
 wards with Majesty and Terror (upon which

Exod. 20. *Moses* says, *Fear not, for God is come to prove*
 20. *you, that his Fear may be before your faces*) did
 not destroy that Covenant which was before
 transacted between God and the People, or
 hinder it from being most fully confirm’d and
 ratify’d with the Rites then in use in making of
 Covenants. And when God condescends to
 make a Covenant with any Nation, by virtue
 of which he will not only give ’em, a Sett of
 Political Laws for their Government, but will
 himself dwell amongst ’em, and judg in Per-
 son in the most difficult matters, and in all
 others will inspire the Judges he himself ap-
 points with Abilitys sufficient for the discharge
 of their Offices; what have a People to do in
 such a case, but agree to be govern’d without
 reserve by a Being, who as he cou’d have no
 design

design to take upon him the Administration of their Affairs except for their good, so he is Omniscient to discern what is best for them, and Omnipotent to bring it about? And yet, as Dr. *Spencer* has shewn, there are Conditions in this Contract of God's own proposing.

The *Rehearsal*-Writer makes all the Tribes contending with *Aaron* for the Priesthood, to be before the suppos'd *Horeb* Contract; and says, " That the Law about Sacrifices and Sa- P. 55, 56.
crificers was establish'd, and the Priests in
" possession of their Power, before what he
" calls the *Horeb* Contract; nay, that there
" was not a word about Priests or Sacrifices in
" what was done at *Horeb*, where God gave
" 'em the ten Commandments, and 'tis said
" he added no more, *Deut.* 5. 22.

The Gentleman who laid the wager that *Charles I.* took the Covenant, had some excuse for his Mistake, because these words were at the bottom of the Page, and into consideration was over leaf; but it will be difficult to find any for this Author, who if he ever read the Chapter he quotes, can't but be sensible that these words, *He added no more*, do not relate Ver. 22.
to all the Laws God gave at *Horeb*, but only to those he dictated himself to the whole Assembly; who being frighten'd with the Terror and Majesty in which God appear'd, say to Moses, *Go thou near, and hear all the Lord our* Ver. 27.
God shall say, and speak thou to us all the Lord our God shall speak to thee, and we will hear and do it: Which the Lord approving, bids *Moses* say to 'em, *Get you into your Tents again; but* Ver. 30, 31.
as for thee, stand thou here by me, and I will speak unto thee all the Commandments, Statutes, and Judgments, which thou shalt teach 'em.

- Of a piece with this is his saying, " The
 " Law relating to Sacrifices and Sacrificers
 " was establish'd, and the Priests in possession
 " of their Power, before what he calls the
 " *Horeb Contract*: whereas the Contract was
 made in the 19th of *Exodus*, and the Family
 of *Aaron* not consecrated to the Priestly Office
 till the 28th and 29th Chapters. And in the
 Ver. 5. 24th Chapter, *The Young Men of the Children of*
Israel offer'd Burnt-Offerings, and sacrific'd Peace-
Offerings. And as to the Contest of the other
 Tribes with *Aaron* for the Priesthood, and each
 putting his Rod in opposition to him, they
 Num. 16.3 must be after *Aaron's* Consecration, because they
 complain of his taking too much upon him.
 And as this Contest with *Aaron* is not related
 till *Numb.* 17. nor the Consecration of the *Le-*
uites till *Numb.* 8. so both these, as appears
 by *Numb.* 1. 1. must be at least in the second
 Month of the second Year after the Children
 Exod. 19.1 of *Israel* came out of *Egypt*; whereas the *Ho-*
reb Contract was made in the third Month of
 the first Year. This sufficiently shews either
 the Honesty or the profound Skill of this Re-
 verend Divine in the Bible; and if I wou'd use
 P. 56. his own words, I might say, *I am amaz'd at*
his Assurance or Ignorance, who says, *there's*
hardly a Line in this Author but what is fraught
with such Blunders as these, viz. making these
 things to be after the *Horeb Contract*. Upon
 which I can't forbear observing, That the more
 one follows the express Texts of Scripture,
 the freer this Champion of High Church is in
 bestowing on him such Compliments; tho if
 any thing deserv'd the Name of Blunder, one
 wou'd think it shou'd be first to quote *the Rights*
 P. 56. for saying, " One grand cause of Mistake is
 " not

“ not considering when God acts as Governor
 “ of the Universe, and when he acts as Prince
 “ of a particular Nation ; and then saying,
 “ The *Rights* has forgot God is King of the P. 65.
 “ Universe: Or first to own that the *Jews* re- P. 51.
 jected God for being their King, and then con- P. 63.
 demn *the Rights* for making God's Kingdom o-
 ver the *Jews* to be temporal.

His next Argument against the *Horeb* Con-
 tract, is, *That the Jews were at that time under* P. 55.
the settled Government of Moses their King.
 This is directly striking at the Theocracy, and
 making God no otherwise King of the *Jews*,
 than he was of all other Nations. Had *Gi-*
deon been of this opinion, he wou'd not have
 told the *Israelites* upon their offering him the
 Government, *I will not rule over you, nor shall* Judg. 8. 23
my Son rule over you; the Lord shall rule over
you. If *Moses* was made King of the *Jews* by
 God, how cou'd the Son of *Sirach* say, *He set* Ecclus. 17.
a Ruler over every People, but Israel is the Lord's 17.
Portion? Or if the Supreme Government of
 any Mortal was not inconsistent with God's
 Kingship over the *Jews*, *Samuel* cou'd not have
 blam'd the *Jews* for saying, *Nay, but a King* 1 Sam. 12.
shall reign over us, when the Lord your God was 12.
your King; or God himself say, that the *Jews*
 petitioning for a King was rejecting him from
 reigning over 'em. Had the Author of *the*
Rights asserted any such thing as this, what Dr.
Hicks says from a Theist, *That Moses was a* Pref. p. 57:
cunning Fellow, who made himself a King and his
Brother a Priest, wou'd have been apply'd to
 him by the *Rehearsal*-Writer; and then he
 might have had some colour for his Harangue
 about Profaneness and Blasphemy.

These are all the Arguments I can find the *Rehearsal*-Writer; has muster'd up against the *Horeb* Contract: What he says besides for almost twenty Pages together, is applying what the *Rights* says of God's Civil Empire over the *Jews*, which he exercis'd only for a while, to his Natural and Eternal Empire over Mankind, which he will and must exercise to all Eternity. And then he makes this to be the Sentiment not only of the Author of the *Rights*,

P. 52.

but of all the Whigs; as for instance: *Here you see these Rabshekehs (the Whigs) lift up their Voice against Heaven, and pull God thence as far as is in their power, and lay him even under the feet of the Beasts of the People.* And in the Margin, p. 53. he says, "The Principles of the Whigs lead 'em to this Doctrine, viz. God's Authority over 'em they deny, except he will accept of it as deriv'd from them."

P. 54.

"The State of our Dispute is alter'd, and instead of defending the Independency of the Church from the People (that is, the Independency of the Church from the Church) we are brought to defend the Independency of God himself from their Original and

P. 59.

Supreme Authority. These Men attack the Almighty in his own Person, they dispute his Authority over 'em, and will have it deriv'd from the People (that is, themselves) and no otherwise; which is directly and in full terms denying any God at all. — Did

P. 60.

"*Lucifer* aspire to any thing equal to this? Such a Whig as the Author of the *Rights* is worse than a Pagan; for the Pagans do acknowledge a God, and never had so foolish and blasphemous a Notion, as that his Power over 'em was deriv'd from themselves.

“ selves. These, and a hundred things as extravagant, he imputes to the Author of *the Rights*; tho at the same time he says, “ The *Rights* sums up the Strength of his Argument in his p. 151. and says thus, *One grand Cause of Mistake in this matter, is not considering when God acts as Governor of the Universe, and when as Prince of a particular Nation: and then makes himself this Remark on it; It plainly appears, this can only refer to the municipal Laws of the Jews, as they were a particular Nation. As this is a sufficient Answer to the Rehearsal, so for any other Objections I refer you to the two Authors above-cited.* P. 503

This Precedent of God’s not taking on him the Political Government of the *Jews* till he had obtain’d their Consent, as well as reigning no longer than they were consenting, being so directly contrary to all the Schemes of the High-Fliers, ’tis no wonder this Author can’t bear the recital of it; and in opposing it, has recourse to his usual way of misrepresenting. But such a Cause requires such Methods, and such a Champion to defend it: And when a Man speaks the Sense of a Party, tho himself can’t speak common Sense, nay in the opinion of all sober Men is fitter for *Bedlam* than Controversy; it shows a respect to the Party not to overlook such a crack-brain’d Writer, whom at another time one wou’d be asham’d to mention.

Dr. Burnet, now Bishop of Sarum, says, Dr. Burnet’s *Papers*, p. 190
speaking of trusty Sir Roger, *A Buffoon was hir’d to plague us with three or four Papers a week, which, to the reproach of the Age in which we live, had but too great and too general effect*

for poisoning the Spirit of the Clergy. But if any of the Clergy now are poison'd by this Reverend and Worthy Writer, who has not Wit enough to play the Buffoon, and no other Talents to attack the Government of Church and State, than downright misrepresenting; it shows how well prepar'd they are to receive the Poison. And must not every one think that the Defender of the first Presentment is sufficiently poison'd by him, since what he says on this Head is intirely copy'd from him, except in some Rhetorical Flourishes of his own, as *Lye, Impudence?* &c. And it will not be amiss to give one instance, among a great many, how the Pulpits paint after his manner, from an Assize-Sermon preach'd at the University-Church at *Oxford* by Mr. Trapp last *March*: “ They are not suffer'd, says this Reverend Divine, “ to question the Title of “ Kings, and shall God's be question'd?—— “ Shall they be permitted to blaspheme “ Christ, and deny God the absolute Govern- “ ment of the World? Must there be a To- “ leration for such hellish Outrages as these? “ Shall it be suggested, without a severe Ani- “ madversion, that God's Right to reign over “ the *Jews* as their Prince was founded on “ Contract? And in the Margin he refers to p. 151. of the *Rights*, which not only distinguishes between God's Government of the Universe and of the *Jews*, but puts it on the Pleasure of God that he ask'd their Consent. I shall only observe of this Reverend Divine, That when he writ for the Stage, he was contented with simple Fiction; but now so much has the Priest improv'd the Play-Writer, that nothing will satisfy him except malicious Falshoods

P. 18.

P. 14.

shoods. And if Men can so solemnly, without shame or scruple, act such a part, what is there to hinder 'em from picking Pockets, Perjury, or any other Villany whatever?

Before I leave this Head, 'twill be to the present purpose to observe in brief, That the Worship which by the *Levitical* Law God order'd to be paid him, was a Civil Worship, built on Civil and not on Future Rewards and Punishments; which by the Clergy themselves is own'd to be the Foundation of Religion and Religious Worship: and the Worship paid him must needs be on a State-account, since Church and State were not distinguish'd by the *Levitical* Law, but all things were commanded or forbidden on a State-account. And it's evident that the Priests and *Levites* stood in such relation to God as their King, as is impossible can happen except where God exercises a Civil Empire.

Let a thing be ever so plain from Scripture, yet I find 'twill not secure a Man from being charg'd with Profaneness or Blasphemy, unless he can arm himself with the Authority of some eminent Clergymen; and therefore I shall mention what the most judicious Dr. *Oustram*, as quoted by Dr. *Spencer*, says as to this matter: And he from the famous *Rabbi Shem Tob* says, " That God, to whom be all Praise, Dissert. de
 " order'd such a House to be built for him as Jud. The-
 " Kings use to have, and nothing belonging to ocr. p. 225.
 " a Royal Palace was wanting. For as 'tis the
 " Duty of some to guard the Royal Palace,
 " and of others to discharge all those Offices
 " which conduce to the Support of the Royal
 " Dignity, as to provide Royal Banquets,
 " and do all other things necessary for a King;
 " so

“ so there are some to sing in vocal and in-
 “ strumental Musick. There is in a Royal
 “ House a Place for dressing of Meat, and a
 “ Place where Perfumes are to be burnt ; there
 “ is also a Table in such a House, and a Closet
 “ appropriated to the King, where none are
 “ admitted, but he who is next to him, or
 “ whom he has in very great esteem. After
 “ the same manner God wou’d have every
 “ thing to be provided in his House, nor in
 “ any manner whatever wou’d come behind
 “ the Kings of the Earth : not that the great
 “ King wanted these things, but from hence
 “ clearly appears the reason of the constant
 “ Table (or *Victus familiaris*, as he calls it)
 “ that was kept for the Priests and *Levites*, be-
 “ ing the same which every King allows to
 “ his Attendants. And all this tended to
 “ shew the People, that their King, the Lord
 “ of Hosts, dwelt amongst ’em. And I may
 add, That as the Portion which was not con-
 sum’d by Fire, was the *Victus familiaris* that
 belong’d to the Servants of the King who wait-
 ed at his Royal Palace, so that which was con-
 sum’d with Fire was suppos’d to be reserv’d

Mal. 1. 7, for God. Hence the Altar is call’d God’s Ta-
 12. ble, and the Sacrifices God’s Meat. And
 Numb. 28. very often, in the Law and elsewhere, the Sa-
 2. Ezek. crifice is call’d God’s Bread or Meat. Hence
 44. 6, 7. it is that Wine, which was constantly offer’d
 Judg. 9. 13 up at God’s Table, is said to *chear God and*
Man. And Dr. Spencer quotes the famous
Rabbi Nackmanides for saying, *Quod non esset e*
dignitate cibi Dei, ut insipidus esset sine sale.
 And Salt is made so necessary, that ’tis re-
 Lev. 2. 13. quir’d no less than three times in the same
 Verse ; and whatever was burnt, is said to be

a sweet Savor to the Lord, and it is so call'd at least a hundred times in the Levitical Law, Numb. 28. 2, 6, 8. & 13. 24, 27. and no less than seven times in one Chapter. And as 'twas not only the Business of the Priests and Levites, as menial Servants of the King, to provide Meat for his Table, but they were to guard the Royal Tabernacle, and to keep Watch and Ward in the House of the Lord; so 'twas their Business to remove the Royal Tabernacle, to carry the Ark or Royal Banner, when the Lord, as their Captain-General, led 'em to Battel. And at the Defection from the Lord to other Gods, which was High Treason in the Land of *Judea*, 'twas the Levites who slew 3000 of the People, and Exod. 32. 29. thereby consecrated themselves to the Lord, every Man upon his Son, and upon his Brother. As the King's Domestick Servants they waited in his Royal Palace or Tabernacle, some in higher, some in lower Stations, some further from, and some nearer to the Presence-Chamber and Throne: and Dr. *Spencer* ob- P. 224. serves, that the reason why the Priests are said so frequently to come near to God, is, because it was permitted them only to come into the Sanctuary or Presence-Chamber; and that God did dignify 'em with such Titles as signify'd a near relation as Servants to God their King. And I may add, That the reason God so often gave his Answer, relating to the Political Affairs of the *Jews*, by the High Priest, was because as Chief Minister he was admitted to a nearer Attendance on the King, and sometimes into the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, his innermost Dwelling or Closet. And the Priests, as Ministers of a great King, were clad in rich and sumptuous Garments, in proportion to the

Service they were imploy'd in. There's nothing takes up a longer or more particular Account than what Clothes the Priests shall have, especially the High Priest, and the Manner of making 'em; except it is the Description of the Royal Tent, its Furniture, and the Table belonging to it. And as there was a sweet-smelling Oil to be prepar'd for the Tabernacle,

Exod. 30. *after the Art of the Apothecary, Pure and Holy; so the Ministers or Priests, who attended in this Tabernacle, were to be anointed with it, and 'twas Death for any others to make use of*

Isa. 31. 9. *it. And the Lord, whose Fire is in Sion, and his Furnace in Jerusalem, made it highly criminal for his Servants to use any other Fire or any other Vessels than his own, it being being beneath the Dignity of so great a King to borrow any thing from his Subjects.*

As to the Expiatory Sacrifices, they were small Punishments, Mulcts or Fines, to atone for the Faults of Ignorance: not as to the next World, because then none of the great Sins, for which no such Atonement was made, cou'd have been pardon'd; but only to the purifying Heb. 9. 13. *of the Flesh, as St. Paul calls it, or to the making a man right in the eye of his Elohim or King, and capable of the temporal Blessings annex to the Observation of the Law.*

In short, I shall conclude this Head, relating to God's Civil Worship among the *Jews*, with Dr. *Spencer's* words: " And * when God
P. 227. " did not disdain to take upon him the Name
" and Office of a Political King, 'tis agreea-
" ble

* Cum autem Deus Regis Politici nomen & officium
sumere non dedignatus sit, fidei & rationi consentit, Deum
ea

“ ble both to Faith and Reason to suppose,
 “ that he wou’d do every thing which the
 “ Name and Office of a King seem’d to re-
 “ quire : and without doubt, unless these and
 “ some other legal Institutions are thought to
 “ flow from this Origin, I can see no reason
 “ why God shou’d require to be worship’d
 “ with such Pomp and Ceremony after the
 “ manner of Kings.

Under the Gospel, as our Saviour declares,
The true Worshipers shall worship God, who is a Joh.4. 23,
Spirit, in Spirit and in Truth ; not with
 Pomp and Ceremony, as a Political King, who
 dispenses Civil Rewards to his Votarys, and
 dwells in a Tabernacle ; but as a Divine Being,
 who bestows eternal Rewards, and is every
 where present : and consequently here is no
 Tribe or Person admitted into his Presence ex-
 clusively of others, but all alike draw near to
 him, and are, if not by their own Faults, all
 alike Pure, Holy and Spiritual ; and are all a-
 like, God being no Respector of Persons, the
 Elect, the Saints, the *Cleros* and Heritage of
 God. Here is no Tabernacle, or any other
 Place, where People, for want of a legal Ho-
 linefs, are excluded. Here is no particular
 Place appointed by God for performing the
 Divine Service ; nor can any one Place claim a
 Prerogative above another, but in all Places
you may lift up Holy Hands to him. Here’s no

ea omnia statuere & agere voluisse quæ a se Regis nomen &
 officium exigere videbantur ; & certe nisi hæc & alia non-
 nulla legis instituta ab origine jam dicta promanasse cense-
 antur, causa haud mihi in promptu est cur Deus tanto
 cum apparatu & ritu regis moris æmulo se colendum ex-
 hiberet.

particular

particular Temple or Church, in which God will hear your Prayers sooner than in another Place ; and no Person has any Privilege or Prerogative in this Matter, but all alike come to those Places which People agree to meet in for the Worship of God, and all are alike concern'd in receiving the Sacraments ; or, according to *St. Paul, in blessing the Cup, and breaking the Bread.* There's no Sacrifice in the Christian Religion, but what Christ offer'd up once for all the Sins of the World, except it be Prayers and Praises. And by the Blessing of Christianity, we are all Priests sufficiently qualify'd to offer up those spiritual Sacrifices acceptably to God ; and 'tis for thus *making us Priests to God the Father,* that we are with *St. John* to render Honour and Praise to our Saviour.

Among Christians there's no *Sanctum Sanctorum*, which is only open to one or a few : The Word of God is our Holy of Holys, which every one alike is bound to read, peruse, and judg of its meaning for himself. But tho all Christians are alike, if it be not their own fault, Pure, Spiritual and Holy, the Saints, the Elect, the Heritage, the Clergy, the Priests of God ; and all alike draw near to him, and alike perform all Parts of religious Worship ; and consequently no one can, if otherwise of Abilitys, be incapable of performing any Office in the Christian Church, for want of any Spiritualitys which others injoy above him : yet all are not alike Ministers, nor have a like Right to officiate in the Congregation, because that must depend on the Consent of the Partys concern'd ; tho whether this or that thing be done by this or that Christian, is rather an

Appendix to than a Part of Religion, and comes in under the consideration of having all things done decently and in order ; which the Apostle cou'd not require the People of *Corinth* to observe, without allowing 'em to judg and determine among themselves of all such Matters.

Nor can this Opinion be any Disadvantage to the Ministers, since it allows 'em greater Privileges than ever the *Jewish* High Priests had, because they daily draw near to God, nay are daily admitted into the Holy of Holys: and if they repine that their Brethren have the same Privileges, they are far from being endu'd with the meek Spirit of *Moses*, who *Numb. 11.* wish'd, *That all the Lord's People were Prophets*, 29. *and that the Lord wou'd put his Spirit upon 'em ;* or being like St. *Paul*, who desir'd, *That all* *Acts 26.* *who heard him were not almost, but altogether such* 29. *as he, his Bonds only excepted.*

Dr. *Hicks* says, that the Apostles, before *Book,* the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, did not call the *p. 151.* Ministers Priests, out of regard to the *Jews*, because two opposite Altars among one People might have wrought Distraction and Confusion. But I do not find they call'd 'em so afterward ; for St. *John*, the only surviving Apostle, who, as the Doctor owns, writ his *P. 158.* Gospel 34, and his Revelation 26 years after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, never gives 'em that Title, except when he ascribes it to Christians in general. And before that time St. *Paul*, even in writing to the *Hebrews*, does not scruple to own, that by Christ's Eternal Priesthood, the Levitical Priesthood was abolish'd: Nay, every where he preaches against the Law, and tells the *Galatians*, *If they are cir-* *Gal. 5. 2.* *cumcis'd,*

sumcis'd, Christ profits 'em nothings. If the Highfliers are Priests or Sacrificers, in a sense peculiar to themselves, is it not because they sacrifice every thing Civil and Sacred to their God *Mammon*? In this sense I am afraid they are the greatest Sacrificers in the World, and daily offer up Hecatombs: 'Tis to this God they wou'd sacrifice the Constitution both of Church and State, and in this sense the Laity will not contest the Priesthood with 'em.

P. 134.

If you will know why the Highfliers are so inrag'd for not being own'd to be Priests in the proper sense of the word, Dr. Hicks tells it you, in saying, *Not allowing the Clergy to be proper Priests, gratifys the Enemys of the Priesthood, and gives 'em infinite Advantage over the Clergy, particularly as to their Divine Right of Tithes.* And indeed, in order to the getting the Minister that Pomp, Grandure, Revenues, &c. which the Priests as Civil Ministers had among the *Jews*, the simple, pure, spiritual Worship and Religion which Christ instituted, is in most Places confounded, and Christians reduc'd to what the Gospel declares Men to be free from; a carnal Law, a Law of Bondage, a Yoke that neither we nor our Forefathers cou'd

Gal. 3.19. bear. As St. Paul says, *The Law was added because of Transgressions*: So the Prophets make very free with the Law, as for instance Ezekiel

Ezek. 20.
25.

says, in the name of the Lord, *I gave 'em Statutes that were not good, and Judgments whereby they shou'd not live.* And it's plain this related to their Priests, their Revenues, their Sacrifices, their Ceremonys, that pompous and theatrical way of Worship, which in compliance with the gross, carnal and stupid Notions of a stiff-neck'd People God for a while comply'd

ply'd with, and not to Matters of *Meum* and *Tuum* ; for their Polity as to these was, as *Harrington* has shew'd in his Account of the Jewish Commonwealth, most perfect and compleat. If you will see what it is the Prophets exclaim against, read *Isa.* i. 11, 12, 13, 14. and 66. 3. *Jer.* 7. 22. and 8. 24. *Amos* 5. 21, 22. *Micah* 6. 7, 8. And as to Tithes, if they now belong to any by Divine Right, it must be to the Government, because among the *Jews* they were part of the Royal Revenue ; the Civil List being maintain'd by them, and the Oblations and a Shekel which every one paid to the Sanctuary.

It's necessary that Men shou'd distinguish so very exactly between the Civil Worship which the *Jews* paid to God under the Law as their King, and that Religious Worship which under the Gospel all Mankind are to render him. To give only one Instance, where the not observing this has caus'd infinite Mischief to Mankind, and that is in the Case of Idolatry, which among the *Jews* was punish'd as a Civil Crime : “ For, as Mr. *Lock* observes, an Ido-
 “ later was proceeded against as a Traitor ; *Letter of Tolerat.*
 “ and the reason was, because God being in P. 53, 54.
 “ a peculiar manner the King of the *Jews*, he
 “ cou'd not suffer the Adoration of any other
 “ Deity (which was properly an Act of High
 “ Treason against himself) in the Land of
 “ *Canaan*, which was his Kingdom : for such a
 “ manifest Revolt cou'd no way consist with
 “ his Dominion, which was perfectly political
 “ in that Country : all Idolatry therefore was
 “ to be rooted out of the bounds of that
 “ Kingdom——But among so many Coun-
 “ tries taken, so many Nations reduc'd to their
 “ Obedience,

“ Obedience, we have not one Man punish’d
 “ for Idolatry: but on the contrary, where
 “ it is order’d that an *Israelite* who is an Ido-
 “ later shou’d be put to Death, there it is pro-
 “ vided that Strangers shou’d not be vext or
 “ oppress’d.

This punishing Idolatry in the Land of *Canaan* as a Civil Crime, gave a handle to the Priests to halloo on Christians to murder one another by Shoals, on pretence that the Magistrate was to punish with Death all Idolaters and Blasphemers; and almost every body was either one or t’other who did not blindly submit to them, tho it was in Points merely relating to Discipline: Of the Truth of which I have as many Witnesses, as the Author of the *Rights* has Adversarys.

That excellent Description of the Christian Religion in the *Octavius* of *Minutius Felix* shews, that the Primitive Christians had very little regard to Temples, Altars, Sacrifices, Priests, or Sacrificers. “ Do you suppose, says that
 “ *Lay-Father*, that we conceal what we wor-
 “ ship, because we have neither Temples nor
 “ Altars? To what purpose shall I make any
 “ Representation of God, when Man is his
 “ living Image; or what Temple shall I raise
 “ to him, when the whole World is not able
 “ to contain him? And when I, who am on-
 “ ly a Man, can command a larger Habita-
 “ tion, shall I confine the incomprehensible
 “ Glory of the Divine Majesty within the
 “ narrow Compass of some Temple or Shrine?
 “ —Shall we offer to God Sacrifices of such
 “ Creatures as he has made for our use? Wou’d
 “ not this look indeed as if we had a mind to
 “ reject his Bounty, and with Scorn to throw
 “ back

Edit.

Lugd. Bat.

p. 313.

“ back his Gifts? This wou’d be high Ingratitude; when the most pleasing Sacrifices to him are an upright Heart, a pure Mind, and a clear Conscience. He who lives in Innocence, worships him; he who observes the Rules of Justice, sacrifices to him; he who is Simple-hearted and without Guile, obtains his Favour; and he who preserves another, makes him the most acceptable Offering. These are our Sacrifices, these are our Mysterys: and he is the most Religious in our Esteem who is the most Just. Good God! how different is this from what we are taught by High Church?

The next Passage to be consider’d is in pag. 104. *Tho the Priests assume to themselves an arbitrary Power of excluding Men from the Lord’s Supper, yet the Scripture no where makes the receiving it from the Hands of a Priest necessary: nay, not one Instance of the Laity’s receiving it so can be produc’d from thence.*

As there are no Clergy of the Church of England, who in Practice assume an arbitrary Power of excluding whom they please from the Lord’s Supper, and none can in their Writings, to which the word *Assume* relates, claim such a Power, without direct Perjury; so the Author of the *Rights* can’t be presum’d to mean them, but the Romish and other Priests, who are infinitely the Majority, and against whom his Book is writ, who both in their Writings and Practice assume such a Power. And the word *Tho*, which begins the Sentence, shews it’s meant of those Priests, who in the foregoing Sections assume this Power. And as to his saying, that the Scripture no where makes it necessary to receive the Sacrament from the hands

hands of a Priest, that I suppose can't be criminal to assert.

*Vind. of his
Sermon,
p. 143.*

For as 'tis the Practice of some of the Dissenting Churches, tolerated by Law, not to receive the Sacrament from the hands of a Priest, and they do not pretend they have any Priests from whose hands they shou'd receive it; so what the Law tolerates, and by virtue of the Toleration is preach'd up by them, can't be a Crime in the Author of the *Rights* to assert, tho he shou'd be mistaken in his Assertion. But the Truth of this, even they who write against the *Rights* are forc'd to own; particularly Mr. Wotton confesses, *That concerning the Persons that were to give the Eucharist at first, we find nothing that he remembers in the New Testament.* And if the Solicitor of the Prosecution has discover'd any such Text, he will no doubt do the Ecclesiasticks, who have in vain these many Ages search'd for it, a special favour to produce it. I am sure it can't be prov'd from *St. Paul*, who to prevent the Disorders which happen'd among the *Corinthians* in celebrating this Sacrament (where it's very plain they did not receive it from the hands of a Priest) requires nothing more than that every one examines himself.

Whoever has a mind to be satisfy'd, that 'tis not by a Divine but a Human Right, that the Administration of the Sacrament is confin'd to such a Set of Men, let him read what *Grotius* has said on this Matter, in his small Treatise, *De Cane Administratione ubi Pastores non sunt*; and what those two learned Men, *Episcopius* and *Salmasius*, have said in his Defence. Nay, the most bigotted of all People, the Papists themselves, don't deny but that at
first

first it was lawful for Laicks to administer the Sacrament; particularly *Rigaltius* and *Ambrianus*; in their Annotations on *Tertullian*, maintain, that in the Primitive Times this was lawful for Laicks to do, tho in the latter Ages of the Church, by the Ecclesiastical Law, they are forbid it. Of this Opinion is the famous *Erasmus*, as appears from the Treatise abovemention'd, which being printed at the end of this Defence, I shall only here take notice that *Grotius* says, “ This is so very clear, “ that it seems to him a matter of just Ad- “ miration, that there can be found Men, “ otherwise not unskil'd in the Antiquitys of “ the Christian * Church, who will deny it, “ unless we are to look on it, as appears we “ are, rather as a politick Mumble than a flat Denial.

As this Opinion allows the Magistrate (the Scripture being wholly silent in this matter) to appoint for the National Church after what manner the Sacrament shall be receiv'd; so likewise it permits private Churches to agree among themselves about the way and method of taking the Sacrament, as they judg most proper for their Circumstances. And nothing as I know can be said against it, besides what is urg'd by the learned Mr *Dodwel* in his *Premotion to the Natural Mortality of the Soul*: “ That Christ design'd to oblige all to a De- “ pendence on, and a Submission to the Priest- “ hood, under pain of Deprivation, the or-

* Ab laicis factam Eucharistiam tam apertum est, ut mirum sit reperiri posse viros qui Antiquitatem Christianorum gustarunt, qui id negent, nisi forte dices mussant magis quam negant.

“ dinary means of the Remission of Sins ; and
 “ that the Reception of the Elements will be
 “ no otherwise necessary to the Remission of
 “ our Sins, than as our Duty to receive those
 “ Elements, in order to that Remission, ob-
 “ liges us to depend on the Consent of the
 “ Priests, who alone can give us those Ele-
 “ ments, and who alone can *oblige* God to ratify
 “ in Heaven what is transacted by them on
 “ Earth. The Design of all this seem’d to be,
 “ to oblige all Laicks to a voluntary Obedi-
 “ ence to their Clergy ; and the supposing
 “ the Preservation of the Priests Authority
 “ to be the end of this Design of Christ, that
 “ Right of the Priests will be the principal
 “ thing necessarily to be secur’d by this Obe-
 “ dience. And this gives the most rational
 “ account, why under a spiritual Oeconomy
 “ professedly design’d for the Elevation of
 “ Mens Minds above all unnecessary Conde-
 “ scension to Sense, Christ shou’d institute the
 “ eternal Observation of some few Rituals.

If Judges and Jurys can think that the end
 of instituting the Sacrament was to subject the
 Laity to the Clergy, under pain of being de-
 priv’d of the ordinary means of Salvation ;
 then indeed the Publisher of the *Rights* may be
 in some danger : But if they are not of that
 Opinion, they will hardly think themselves ob-
 lig’d to their own Clergy for not shewing (as
 I know no one of ’em who has) the least dis-
 like to this absurd Hypothesis. And the A-
 betters of this Prosecution seem to have no
 other design in having this Passage of the *Rights*
 condemn’d, than to obtain a Judgment against
 37 H. 8. cap. 17. and the rest of the Laws
 which make the Prince the Fountain of all Ec-
 clesiastical

clesiastical as well as Civil Jurisdiction ; who can upon an Appeal not only revoke the spiritual Censures of any Bishop or Archbishop, but likewise for just Causes excommunicate 'em.

The next Passage I shall consider is in *Pag. 105.* and in the first Indictment (tho left out in the second) runs thus : *To which Christ, who instituted no new Rites, superadded the Remembrance of his Sufferings, and directs his Disciples as often as they did this, that is, celebrate such Festivals, and close them with the Postcœnium.* Here the Promoter of the Prosecution begins and ends in the middle of a Sentence ; and all the Conclusion which can be drawn from it is, That if he knew how, he wou'd have something to present ; and will make nonsense of what he presents, rather than not present at all. What he shou'd have presented, as it stands intire in the *Rights*, is : *The Passover and other Festivals among the Jews were never celebrated in the Temple or Synagogues, but in their private Houses, where, as Grotius observes, they invited their Kindred, Friends and Neighbours, to the number of above ten, but under twenty ; which Josephus calls a Fraternity : and at the close of the Supper, the great Meal with them, the Master of the Feast distributed among his Guests small Pieces of the finest Bread ; and having first drank of the Gracc-Cup, deliver'd it to be handed about. All this was accompany'd with Thanks to God for having created Bread and Wine, which was follow'd by some Relation sutable to the Festival, and the Eucharisty or Hymn of Thanksgiving ; to which Christ, who instituted no new Rites, superadded the Remembrance of his Sufferings, and directs his Disciples as often as they did this, that is, celebrate such Festivals, and close them with the Postcœnium, to*

commemorate him after this manner. Had the Informer put this down at length, and withal mention'd it as a Quotation from *Grotius*, he had done fairly; but he apprehended that a Jury wou'd not upon his Authority present as criminal what the ablest Commentator on the Scripture had said in a Point relating to the Jewish Customs: And I defy the Informer to produce any one Person competently skill'd in Jewish Antiquitys who contradicts *Grotius*. All I ever met with agree, that our Saviour instituted no new Rites, but apply'd some of those he found practis'd by the *Jews* to new ends and purposes. Tho *Grotius* was never accus'd of speaking irreverently of the Sacrament, much less for saying that Christ instituted it as a Grace-Cup only; yet such is the Candor and Sincerity of High-Church, that in a great many Pamphlets they have charg'd the *Rights*, because of this Quotation, with saying it.

F. 15.

The Author of the *Wolf script* cries out in a great concern, *O Dreadful! Dreadful! to make the most solemn Act of Worship that can be perform'd on Earth, the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, to be no more than drinking a Grace-Cup.* And the Writer of a Letter before *Scandrer's Sacrifice the Divine Service*, subscrib'd *Charles Leslie*, says; "A Book ironically call'd *the Rights of the Church*, explains "the Sacrament by the contemptible Name "of a *Grace-Cup*. I hope the Writer of the *Rehearsal* and of this Letter are the same, because some will be apt to think that two such Men are too great a Scandal for any one Church or Nation to support. A Sheet of Paper quoted by most of the Adversarys of the

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Rights,

Rights, intitl'd, *The Ax laid to the Root of Christianity*, charges this of the *Grace-Cup* as one of the profane and blasphemous things which strike at the Root of Christianity. And Mr. *Hill*, in his Address to the Nobility and Gentry, among other things equally true with which he charges the *Rights*, says, *Not forbearing to vilify the Holy Eucharist, the Consecration of which he calls Conjurat[i]on; and speaks of the Sacramental Cup as a Grace-Cup.* This was so much believ'd by High-Church constantly preaching it, that the Grand Jury, as appears by the Presentment printed in the *Post-Man* in December last, present these Words as contain'd in Pag. 105. *The Remembrance of Christ's Sufferings, a mere Grace-Cup deliver'd to be handed about.* I shall mention but one more, who has added a new Charge, viz. That the Offertory is only paying his Club; and that is the Reverend Mr. *Whitfield*, who in his Epistle to his late Visitation-Sermon has these words: *Witness his profane Phrases of the most blessed Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour! And sutable to his detestable writing (I fear) is his way of receiving it; since his saying that it is Conjurat[i]on and a Grace-Cup, and the Offertory only paying his Club, is surely no Evidence of his discerning the Lord's Body.* The Proceedings of the Brethren of the holy Inquisition, in dressing up the Wretch they deliver over to be burnt by the Secular Arm, in a Coat painted all over with Devils and Flames, in order to extinguish the least Pity in the People; is innocent in comparison of some Mens falsely and maliciously charging a Person with profane and blasphemous Speeches, only with a design to provoke the People to fall upon him.

The Jesuits have had the reputation of being thought the greatest Lyars in *Christendom*; but I defy any one to shew, in all their Writings, more notorious and malicious Falshoods than some, who may be justly call'd the Jesuits of the Church of *England*, have charg'd on the *Rights*, with relation to the Sacrament and the *Horeb* Contract: not that they have been much fairer in other Passages, but I only mention these because they are the subject Matter of the two Indictments.

Tully somewhere says of the *Stoicks*, who pretended not to be affected with Pain, That they were *Genus hominum mendacissimum*; but had he liv'd now, he wou'd certainly have chang'd his Opinion. And one wou'd think some Men had no other Design in their Writings, than to make good what the Author of the *Rights* says, That 'tis the misfortune of the best of Religions to have the worst of Priests.

The next Passage I shall take notice of is in Pag. 80. *What's more requir'd to give one a Right to exercise the Office of a Minister in any particular Congregation, than an Agreement amongst 'em to chuse a Person capable and willing to take upon him that Function, and consent to hear him say Prayers, preach, and administer the Sacraments? And what is depriving or deposing him, except agreeing not to hear him any longer, or own him any more for their Minister? And this private Churches may do by a Right natural to all Societys whatever, since it's only a Liberty of their own Actions in hearing or not hearing such a Person pray or preach, and in receiving or not receiving the Sacraments from him.*

The Author here does not speak of publick or national Churches, but of private Churches
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and their Rights ; which if the Law of the Land allows in the Dissenting Churches, 'tis no Crime against Law, to say they may do what the Law permits 'em to do. And there can be nothing said more effectually to guard the legal Right which the Magistrate or any other Person has, in relation to the National Church, than the following words of this Section, which are: *And this they must have had a Right to do before National Churches came in use ; for till then, as no Minister nam'd his Successor, so each Congregation being independent of another, and the Magistrate not interposing, must have a Right of constituting their own Ministers, and of ordering all other Church-matters ; and no other cou'd be concern'd than by their Consent and Approbation. So that here's no room for the Independent Power of any Set of Priests : And as little is there for it in a National Church, which only the Legislature of that Nation can constitute ; and consequently one cannot suppose a National Church, without allowing the Magistrate the Power of dividing it into Parishes, Diocesses, Provinces, or otherwise modelling it as he thinks fit, and of determining the Form of Ecclesiastical Government, and the Qualifications of such as are to be admitted into any Ecclesiastical Benefices under that Form ; and upon what Terms they shall hold their Livings, and who shall have the Power of depriving 'em, and putting others in their room ; and likewise, of making Laws about all other matters relating to the National Church, and appointing who shall put their Laws in execution. And therefore the Clergy, who contend not only for the Lawfulness but Necessity of National Churches, give up all their Pretences to an Independent Power in every thing relating to 'em, even in the most speculative and*

mysterious Points: for if they allow that the Magistrate can enact, that no Person shall enjoy any Preferment in the National Church, who does not profess such or such Articles, they cannot deny him a Power to deprive any who shall disown 'em; because 'tis only putting those Laws they acknowledg he has a power to make, in execution: and by whomsoever he does this, whether Lay or Clergy, they act as his Deputys; since a Church, as 'tis Political or National, is a part of the Civil Constitution. And what can be fuller in defence of the National Constitution of the Church, and of the Toleration, which is now a part of it, than what is asserted in this very Section?

Tho the Supreme Powers must determine how the legal Ecclesiastical Preferments shou'd be dispos'd of, and no Clergymen can have any Right in bestowing them, which they derive not from the Law; yet neither one nor other can appoint for the People what Pastors, Guides or Teachers they shall have, because then in every Country they wou'd be bound to take those of the Religion of the Magistrate, or of the Clergy, tho they were Presbyterians, Lutherans, Arians, Papists, &c. But if the People are bound to *take heed to what they hear, to try the Spirits, to try all things, and to avoid false Teachers, Seducers, Deceivers;* they must have a Right to judg who are such, and to separate from those they judg to be so: which as to themselves is depriving or deposing 'em, by destroying all the spiritual Relation which is between 'em, which they cou'd not do, did it not at first flow from them. And there's no avoiding this Consequence, without running into Popery or Hobbism, in making it necessary for the People to submit to such Guides as
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are impos'd on 'em by the Clergy or the Magistrate, tho those Guides require the most impious Terms of Communion.

The ground on which the Puritans oppos'd the Church, was, their taking it for granted that there was a particular Form of Church-Government appointed by Christ, for which reason they cou'd not comply with that establish'd by Law. The Churchmen on the contrary said, There was no Form instituted by Christ, and that therefore their Pretence for not complying with the establish'd Church was groundless. Mr. *Hooker*, who has all along been esteem'd the Bulwark of the Church, and his Book the very Standard of their Ecclesiastical Polity, builds his Defence of the Church upon that Foundation; and in order to it, the chief Business of his Third Book is to prove the Mutability of Ecclesiastical Government: And the Contents of the tenth Section in that Book, are, *That neither God's being the Author of Laws, nor yet his committing 'em to Scripture, is any reason to prove that they admit of no Addition or Change.* And after having demonstrated this, he says, " I there-
 " fore conclude that neither God's being the
 " Author of Laws for the Government of the
 " Church, nor yet his committing 'em to
 " Scripture, is any reason sufficient where-
 " fore all Churches shou'd for ever be bound
 " to keep 'em without all Change. If we did
 " seek to maintain that which most advanta-
 " ges our Cause, the very best way for us, and
 " the strongest against them (the Puritans)
 " were to hold even as they do, That in
 " Scripture there must needs be found some
 " particular Form of Church-Polity which
 " God

P. 145.

Book V.
p. 284.

“ God has instituted, and which for that very
 “ Cause belongs to all Churches at all times:
 “ But with such partial eye to respect our
 “ selves, and by cunning to make those things
 “ seem the truest which are the fittest to serve
 “ our Purposes, is a thing we neither like or
 “ mean to follow.” So in the First Book, he
 “ says, “ Laws made for Churches in regard of
 “ their being such, as they do not always
 “ continue, but may perhaps be clean other-
 “ wise a while after, and so may require to
 “ be otherwise order’d than before; the Laws
 “ of God, which are of this nature, no Man
 “ endu’d with common Sense will ever deny
 “ to be of a different Constitution with the
 “ former, in respect of one’s Constancy, and
 “ Mutability of the other.” And after ha-
 “ ving answer’d and expos’d all the Arguments
 “ of the Puritans, for the necessity of a parti-
 “ cular Set of Men for Baptism, he says, “ Such
 “ are their fumbling Shifts, to inclose the Mi-
 “ nister’s Vocation within the compass of
 “ some essential part of the Sacrament.”
 And with Mr. *Hooker* did the Body of our Di-
 vines agree, being unanimous in nothing more,
 than in asserting there’s no particular Form of
 Church-Government of Divine Institution:
 and if so, no Persons can have a Divine Right
 to govern the Church of Christ, because they
 must have it under some particular Form or
 other; consequently, if there is no such Form,
 all things which require a special Determina-
 tion, as the Persons to officiate, the Times,
 Places, and all other things relating to Eccle-
 siastical Polity, must belong to the Partys con-
 cern’d. For nothing can be more evident,
 than that where any Superior, whether God
 or

or Man, requires a thing to be done by certain Persons, and does not appoint 'em himself, or order who shall, this of course belongs to the Partys concern'd to determine; because no one particular Person having a Right more than another, these things cou'd never be done without the Appointment of the Society, or of those they entrust. And therefore in all such Church-Matters, 'tis as much their Right and Duty to determine, as if God had expressly commanded 'em so to do: and consequently, according to the Clergy's own Notion of Sacrilege, it must be sacrilegious in any Set of Men to deprive them and their Representatives of these their holy Powers and sacred Rights.

God having declar'd, that there shou'd be Holy Congregations or Synagogues, without appointing any thing more; of course, or natural Right, it belong'd to the People to appoint who shou'd officiate in their Synagogues, and what Maintenance, Rights, and Privileges they shou'd have, and for what Causes, and by whom they shou'd be depriv'd; and to determine of every thing else relating to the Discipline of their Synagogues. Accordingly, by virtue of this Right, they set up Holy Synagogues, not only in *Judea*, but in all the Countries round about: and the first Christian Congregations being form'd out of those Synagogues, they naturally fell into the same Discipline; which, as most agreeable to their Circumstances, the Holy Ghost approv'd. And nothing further can be argu'd from thence, than that where People form an Ecclesiastical Polity, agreeable to their Circumstances, the Holy Ghost will approve of it.

There's

There's nothing so particularly and plainly set down in Scripture, as the manner of making Deacons or Overseers for the Poor : All the Apostles giving their Directions what sort of Persons, and how many shou'd be chosen ; and after they were so chosen, the Apostles solemnly laid their Hands on them. And yet what Churchman is there, who thinks Men are oblig'd to follow this Method in taking care of the Poor ? And if Mr. *Hooker* or any other of common Sense must judg, the reason will alike hold in all Ecclesiastical Matters, which are alike of a mutable nature.

Had the Author of *the Rights* writ when Mr. *Hooker* did, the Clergy wou'd have look'd on his Book as a Service design'd the Church against both Papists and Puritans ; or had Mr. *Hooker* writ his *Ecclesiastical Polity* now, the High-fliers wou'd never have left preaching against him, till they had got him indicted for writing against the Church. They wou'd never have forgiven him for saying, " We must
 " either condemn the Emperors, from *Constantine* downward, for being over
 " sumptuously bold for meddling with Church-
 " Affairs, or else judg they acted by a Law
 " term'd *Regia* ; the People having given 'em
 " their whole Power for making Laws, what
 " Matter soever they did concern." Which is saying, that all Power whatever is deriv'd from them ; because the Law-making Power, which necessarily carrys with it that of putting Laws in execution, is the whole of Power. And I may venture to say, that most of the Arguments of the Adversarys of *the Rights* for an Independent Power, being borrow'd
 from

Book VIII.
 P. 459.

from the Puritans, have been confuted by Mr. *Hooker* before those Men writ.

The Church of *England*, as to the Matter of calling Ministers, determines nothing in particular, but owns those for lawful Ministers, *who are chosen and call'd to this Work by Men, who have publick Authority given 'em in the Congregation to call and send Ministers;* without determining who they are, or which way they have their Power. And 'tis plain, that by our Law the Bishops act as ministerially in Consecrating, as the Dean and Chapter do in Electing; and all that the Church affirms of her own way of calling Ministers, is, *That the Book of Consecration of Bishops, and ordering of Priests, confirm'd by Authority of Parliament, does contain all things necessary to such a Consecration and Ordering; neither hath it any thing that of it self is superstitious or ungodly.* And she allow'd all other Reform'd Churches to have all that's necessary to their having true Ministers, and their being true Churches; tho none of 'em, as not owning the Church of *Rome* to be a true Church, cou'd pretend to derive any Title to their Ministers by way of Succession from *Rome*. And we see that the Election of the Partys concern'd is all the outward Call which the Churches in *France*, from the Conference at *Poissy* to this very day, do or can insist on, to prove their Ministers to be true and lawful. And as the Church of *England*, like all other Reform'd Churches, declar'd the Church of *Rome* was no true Church, so she cou'd no more than they pretend to derive to her Bishops any Power by way of Succession from that Church. And 'tis plain, from all the Laws relating to the Church, that
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the Bishops derive the whole of their spiritual Jurisdiction from another Fountain.

That *Episcopacy was an immutable Form of Church-Government* ; That the Bishops, as Governors of the Church by Divine Right, were independent of the Civil Powers ; That at the Reformation they deriv'd all their Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction from the Bishops of [the Church of Rome ; That the Church of Rome is a True Church ; and That all the Reform'd who want Bishops, tho ever so pure and orthodox in Matters of Faith and Doctrine, are no Churches, &c. are such new Doctrines as were not own'd by any Divines, either of our own or any Protestant Church, till the times of the *Laudean* Faction, and then only by a few hot-headed Men: tho since, to the great Scandal of the Church, by no small number of Ecclesiasticks, who, by virtue of these Principles, openly arraign the Constitution of the Church, particularly that part which relates to the Regal Supremacy, the Power of Parliaments, and all manner of Rights and Privileges which by the Law Laymen enjoy in Ecclesiastical Matters, as Lay-Usurpations and sacrilegious Attempts on the Divine Rights of the Clergy. And this Contagion daily increasing, the Author of the *Rights* thought it his Duty, first truly to represent the Constitution of the National Church, and then to defend it after the best manner he cou'd.

But to make the *Rights* to be against the State as well as the Church, this Passage in pag. 233. is inserted in the Indictment: *The Reason why the People may on just Grounds withdraw their Allegiance from the Civil Magistrate, is, Because all the Power he has is given him by them,*

them, in order to act for their Good; and they who depute him, must needs reserve to themselves a Power to judg, whether their Deputy acts according to the Trust lodg'd in him.

The word *Magistrate*, in this Passage, can't upon any fair Construction be apply'd to the Person, to whom by our Constitution Allegiance is due; because the Author, in the beginning of his Book, declares in what sense he uses that word; and says, *By Magistrate I P. 2. mean him or them who have the Supreme or Legislative Power*: and consequently Allegiance is not due to any such, except where the Legislative and Executive Power are in the same hands. But were this out of the Case, if any thing is criminal in this Passage, it must be supposing either that the Magistrate derives his Power from the People, or that there are no Causes which can justify them in withdrawing their Allegiance; or else tho there are such Causes, yet they have no Right to judg when they happen.

If Mankind have not a sufficient Power from God (as every thing they have is from him) to form themselves into Political Societys, and entrust some of their Body with the Administration of their Affairs; then (since there is no Medium) God himself, without any Consent of the Partys, must have miraculously form'd all the Civil Governments which have been in the World; and all those, whether in Elective or any other Governments, who have had the whole or any share in the Legislative Power, must have had it without any human Intervention, by an immediate Commission from God.

But

But if this be infinitely absurd, then 'tis evident, that the People are sufficiently authoris'd by God to chuse their own Governors, and that all Political Power must be deriv'd from the Consent of the Partys concern'd : who, as 'tis impossible they shou'd desire their own Hurt, or not act (especially in so important a Matter) except for their own good ; so 'tis impossible they shou'd be willing to pay Allegiance to any Person, unless they thought it for their Good, or continue to give it him any longer than they judg'd so. And tho it be said, that 'tis never for their Good to withdraw their Allegiance, for fear of the great mischief of Resistance ; yet whether this be true or no, it's unavoidable that they must judg of it.

But if this were true, it wou'd equally hold with relation to every other Invader ; since there is no other difference, than that the Oppression wou'd be more intolerable from one who had all the Obligation in the world to defend the People from all Oppression. Nay, if the Mischief of Resistance were so great, it wou'd be Folly and Madnefs in every body to defend themselves against all Highway-men and House-breakers.

Were this allow'd as a Principle, That tho the People had Rights, yet they had no Right to defend those Rights against a Person who had no Right to take them away ; all distinction between Free and Arbitrary Governments wou'd be lost, and Men wou'd hold their Propertys, Libertys and Lives, as precariously in one place as in another ; since their *All* wou'd depend alike on Will and Pleasure.

As this Doctrine makes all Men alike Slaves, so those who are now the freest wou'd be in an infinitely worse Condition than they are any where at present under the worst of Governments; because it's the Fear that People may be provok'd to throw off their Allegiance, which keeps the greatest Tyrants within some bounds.

And it can't, with submission, be any great Argument of the Goodness of a Doctrine, when the not observing it, or even the Probability of breaking it, has preserv'd Mankind in a much better Condition than they wou'd have been in, had the Supreme Powers been certain that the People, upon no occasion whatever, wou'd withdraw their Allegiance.

But without that Supposition, he who, as things now stand, considers the Happiness, which in all respects free Nations, notwithstanding the Blood and Treasure it has cost to preserve their Libertys, enjoy above all that are enslav'd; must perceive that Liberty is too great a Blessing to be tamely parted with. And one wou'd count it impossible for any who live under a free Government, to think of their Happiness, without having a just Veneration for their Ancestors, who at the expence of their best Blood convey'd to 'em the inestimable Blessings of Liberty. But is not the condemning this Proposition, That there are Causes which can justify withdrawing Allegiance, in effect not only condemning their Ancestors as Traitors and Rebels, but instead of transmitting to Posterity those Libertys they deriv'd from their Ancestors, entailing Slavery upon 'em from Generation to Generation?

To deny there are any just Causes for withdrawing Allegiance, is not only to condemn all those Nations who have frequently practis'd it ; but is going against the Sense of all those Governments, who have upon occasion approv'd it, by engaging in their Quarrel who have taken Arms, either to prevent their being oppress'd, or to throw off that Oppression they lay under. And not to go far for Instances, was not that Glorious Princess Queen *Elizabeth* at great expence both of Blood and Treasure to defend the Infant States, who had just then thrown off the *Spanish* Yoke ; and who by virtue of it are become, next to our Great Queen, the most powerful Defenders of the Libertys of *Europe* ? Did not that Pious King *Charles I.* engage in a War with *France* in defence of the *Rochellers* ? And have not all the Protestant Nations of *Europe* protected and countenanc'd the *French* Refugees, who withdrew their Allegiance from the *French* King ? Does not the present Government, as well as those in Alliance with us, so far own their Cause, as to give 'em Commissions to fight against their former Prince ? Nay, does not he himself own and treat 'em as just Enemies ? So that Governors and Governed both agree in supposing there are just Causes of withdrawing Allegiance. Nay, there never was a Man so void of common Sense, as to deny, that a Prince's Incapacity to protect the * People, by losing his Understanding, or being conquer'd by a just Enemy, is a sufficient

* See this more fully handled in an Essay concerning Obedience to the Supreme Powers, lately reprinted with three other Discourses.

Cause of withdrawing Allegiance. And if there be any Causes sufficient to justify it, they must be sufficient to justify *the Rights* for saying in general there are such Causes.

But this Doctrine is not only necessary for the Good of Mankind in general, and the Preservation of all free Governments whatever ; but considering how frequent Revolutions are, 'tis for the Interest and Security of the Powers in being. And they who will not allow there are just Causes of withdrawing Allegiance, will never be able to own any Government in many places; because before they who are in possession can acquire what by their Principles is a just Title, some other Persons get the Power into their hands : and so these Men become Enemies to all Governments.

But we need not go abroad for Instances, nor at home further back than the Revolution, to shew how necessary the allowing there are just Causes for withdrawing Allegiance, is to the Support of Government. Has there been any one that refus'd to own the late or present Government, who did not build his Refusal upon the People's not having a Right to withdraw their Allegiance from King *James* ? And on the contrary, do not all who have writ in vindication of the Government since the Revolution, agree in maintaining, not only that there are just Causes of withdrawing Allegiance, but that the People are the Judges of these Causes ; and consequently, that they did only their Duty in judging King *James* had given 'em just cause to withdraw their Allegiance ? Did not the Government, as long as the Licensing Act was in being, approve and authorize that Doctrine, by licensing such

* Tracts as were wrote in defence of it? Is there a Gentleman in *England*, who has shown the least Zeal for the Government, who has not said as much as is in this Passage? And Speaking being criminal as well as Writing, will not all the Friends to the Government be as liable to be prosecuted as Booksellers, notwithstanding the Parliament has address'd her Majesty to have regard to Men of *Revolution-Principles*? And if this of supposing there are just Causes for withdrawing Allegiance, be not a Revolution-Principle, I know not what is. Nor can I see, how any who do not think K. *James's* going away as he did, a voluntary Resignation of the Crown, but must conclude, that the condemning this Principle is condemning the Revolution, and every thing done upon it, and especially those Patriots who were most instrumental in bringing it about. And according to Dr. *Atterbury*, *None were more instrumental than the English Clergy in promoting the common Deliverance; a Protestant Clergy, the profess'd Assertors of the just Freedoms and Rights of Mankind in Religious Affairs, and who have been more than once instrumental in shaking off the Yokes of every kind from the Necks of Englishmen.* And I may add, that the condemning this Doctrine is condemning the then *Scotish Nation*, who declar'd in-express terms that King *James* had *forefaulted*. Nor can the *Irish Nation* escape, who fought for their Libertys against that King.

Rights of
Convocat.
p. 362.

Ibid. 113.

* Several of which are to be seen in the Collection of State-Tracts, lately publish'd in 3 Vol. written on occasion of the late Revolution, and during the Reign of K. William III. especially in the first Volume.

All free Governments have not only allow'd, but encourag'd their Subjects in asserting the Lawfulness of opposing Tyranny; as knowing nothing cou'd more shew their Aversion to Arbitrary Power, or more endear their Subjects to them. And if any one shou'd have presum'd to preach up the contrary Doctrine, he wou'd have been treated as unworthy to live among Freemen; and who cou'd have no other Design than to raise Mistrusts and Jealousys in the Minds of the People. Indeed the greater the Rights and Privileges of any People are, the more zealous will they be, when they see it made a State-Crime to say, That tho Nature allows all other Creatures for their own Preservation to oppose Force with Force, yet they are debar'd of this common Privilege, and must submit their Propertys, Libertys and Lives, to the Arbitrary Will of one of their Fellow-Creatures. The very supposing this is making the greatest Satyr that can be on a Government, which has so much the Good of all its Subjects at heart, and with so much Zeal promotes their common Interest. And if the Lawfulness of opposing the Worst of Governments can't be maintain'd under the Best, when can it be? In *Charles I's* time, *Manning* and *Sibthorp* preach'd up the Unlawfulness of Resistance in any case whatever; and others have since follow'd their Example: but whether this contributed any thing to the Security of the Father's or Son's Government, I leave you, Sir, to judg.

Having got over those two Points, That Government is from the People, and That there are just Causes for which they may withdraw their Allegiance; the only Question which

remains to be clear'd, is, Who shall judg when this withdrawing of Allegiance is lawful? And that must be (since there's none to judg between them) either the Magistrate or the People: To say the Magistrate, is in effect to say there are no just Causes; since it can't be presum'd he will give it against himself. In case a Governor becomes incapable of governing, by losing his Understanding; none, I suppose, will say that he is to judg whether he is arriv'd to such a degree of Folly or Insanity, as makes it lawful for the People to withdraw their Allegiance: Or suppose a King is conquer'd in a just War, which the highest Asserters of Arbitrary Power account a sufficient reason for the People to transfer their Allegiance to the Conqueror; must not the People do it till the Conquer'd owns the Injustice of his Cause? And is not this a Cause of great difficulty, not only on account of the original Quarrel, but whether in the Course of the War, the injur'd Party has not himself taken sufficient Satisfaction, or has refus'd it when offer'd, so as to turn the Injustice on his side? And can't Men, if they have not lost their feeling, as well judg when they are ruin'd and oppress'd, as in these two Cases? Which alone are sufficient to justify this Passage in the Indictment, because then there may be just Causes for withdrawing Allegiance, and the People must be Judges of those Causes.

Many who have writ for absolute Obedience, own that intolerable Tyranny may be oppos'd. But must the Tyrant judg when his Tyranny is such? If so, there never was an intolerable Tyranny. If King *James* had been left to judg when Allegiance was to be withdrawn from him,

him, wou'd not the Nation have been under a Tyranny, which, tho ever so intolerable, they must have endur'd without the least prospect of Redress?

If the People are not capable to judg when the Oppression they suffer will justify the withdrawing their Allegiance, and therefore can have no right to withdraw it; how comes it about, that every one of 'em is capable to form a Judgment about that, which by the *Jacobites* own Scheme is the most difficult matter to judg of, the Legality of Titles, and which yet they say every one must judg of in order to pay his Allegiance aright?

This, I think, is sufficient to shew that Government is from the People, and that they may have just Causes of withdrawing their Allegiance, and must judg of those Causes; this being unavoidable in all Cases where there is no common Judg. And here can be no recourse to the Courts of Judicature, because when the Law is open, and legal Remedys may be had, there can be no pretence for withdrawing Allegiance. But what Remedy can the common Courts of Justice, or the Law it self provide, when a Person by governing contrary to Law ceases as much to govern in the eye and intent of the Law, as he who ceases to govern at all; and by governing arbitrarily (the Constitution admitting of no such Governor) destroys the very Essence of his Power, and renounces the only Right he had, his legal Right; and by his illegal Oppression puts himself in a state of War?

'Tis the general Opinion, that where the Legislature is divided between several Bodys, so that each has only a share, there can be no

common Judg between the Partys; and that if one Part invades the other's Right, the usurping Part may justly be oppos'd. I beg leave to quote Mr. *Lock's* Treatise of Government on this point, because it has been esteem'd the best Defence of the present Establishment, and was writ before the Licensing Act expir'd; and there in answer to that common Question,

P. 356. *Who shall judg?* it is said, "The People shall
S. 240. "judg: for who shall judg, whether his Trustee or Deputy acts well, or according to the
"Trust lodg'd in him, but he who deputed
"him; and who must, by having deputed
"him, have still a power to discharge him
"when he fails in his Trust? If this be reasonable in particular Cases of private Men,
"why shou'd it be otherwise in that of the
"greatest moment, where the Welfare of
"Millions is concern'd; and also where the
"Evil, if not prevented, is greater, and the
"Redress very difficult, dear and dangerous?

There can't be a particular Rule for every Case; and consequently, Men must be govern'd by general Rules: and there must be some Rule without exception, because every Exception to a Rule is built on some Rule or other: and there can't be Exceptions *ad infinitum*; unless there were Rules *ad infinitum*; and the two Rules which admit of no Exception, are the Honour of God and the Good of Mankind, which are in effect the same: and the last Rule must guide us in all our Actions with relation to those intrusted by their Fellows with Power to act for their good, as well as to all others. And therefore when People, judging by this Law, think that, all things consider'd, 'tis better to submit to Incroachments

ments than run the risk of a Civil War, there Resistance becomes a Crime; but on the contrary, when Tyranny becomes so insupportable, that 'tis for the Good of the People to hazard a War, there, if we judg by this grand Law, Resistance will become a Duty: For God can't give Men Rules by which to square their Actions, but they must judg whether their Actions fall within those Rules; and if this eternal Law be the Rule of the Magistrate's acting with his Subjects, it must be the Rule of their acting with relation to him.

A small Number, if they act by this Rule, will never take up Arms; because 'tis against the publick Good, and only serves to confirm Tyranny, and bring certain Ruin on themselves. Nor is it a few Mens Sufferings which can provoke the Bulk of the People to run the hazard of a Civil War; no, the Design must be general, and the Ruin very apparent, before they are capable of discerning it. And if we examine the State of Mankind, we shall see that most Nations have been enslav'd by their own Governors, in not either soon enough perceiving the Fetters design'd for 'em, or not daring to refuse wearing 'em. If one was to judg of the Heinousness of any Fact by the Punishment which constantly follows it in this Life, a Nation's tamely submitting to vile Oppression wou'd be the greatest Crime imaginable, since it entails the greatest Misery on them and their Posterity. On the contrary, if we may judg of the Excellency of any Action by the visible Blessings which attend it, there seems to be nothing more excellent, than that a free Nation be always on their guard to prevent being enslav'd, since Liberty brings
all

all manner of Blessings with it. Agreeable to this, Mr. *Hoadly*, in his Sermon publish'd at the Request of the Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen, says, "Tho the Authority of a Prince in carrying forward the End of his Power, can't be resisted; yet his Power in acting contrary to that End may be oppos'd without the shadow of a Crime, nay with Honour and Glory. And in his Defence of his Sermon he says, "It must be honourable and glorious, because it helps to rescue Numbers of Familys and Numbers of Generations from Misery and Oppression; and if this be not glorious, the greatest Act of Charity that can be practis'd in this World with respect to the Bodys and outward Estates of Men, is not glorious. But I need say no more, since it can't be presum'd that any Court of Justice will give such a Sentence, or any Jury such a Verdict, as makes their Lives as well as Fortunes precarious; and renders the Constitution, the Laws, and every thing else which a free People can value, subject to Will and Pleasure; and entails Slavery on their Posterity as long as Sun and Moon endure; nay, unsettles the Foundation on which the present Government is built, and must make the Oaths they have taken to fly in their faces.

There are two other Passages in the first Indictment; which if they have any thing criminal in 'em, it must be by leaving out what makes 'em innocent in the Book: and therefore, without saying any thing of 'em, I shall refer you to *Pref.* p. 30. and *Book* p. 15. §. 20. the places from whence they are taken, for you to consider at your leisure.

I do not know whether the Character which the incomparable Mons. *Le Clerc* has given of the *Rights*, or these two Indictments, have done it more credit. For after the World has been told, it's full of blasphemous Positions, profane and immoral Assertions, Atheism, Deism, Popery, and what not; and after it has been so critically examin'd by so many, who have look'd with Eagles Eyes to discover Faults: After all this, I say, to find no Passages except these as obnoxious, is in effect giving the lye to all that High-Church has said of it; for if these are the worst, and can't, so far as I see, be condemn'd without prejudice to the Constitution, nay to the Principles on which the Protestant Religion is built, how innocent and justifiable must all the rest be?

I have only one thing more to take notice of, which is a popular Argument the High-fliers use, to prejudice People against the *Rights*, viz. That the Author was a Papist in King *James's* time, and continu'd so till the Revolution. And this they think of so much consequence, that few of 'em omit it in their Answers. The *Wolf-Script*, who will have it writ by more than one, says, " One of the " Authors turn'd Papist, went to Mass in " King *James's* time, and return'd with the " Fashion. Dr. *Turner* in his Preface, for this reason, says, *It was an unhappy Revolution for him.* And the Reverend Mr. *Whitfield* says, " We call upon Dr. *W. Tindal*, to be " satisfy'd how and when he hath again embrac'd the Reform'd Religion: If in the " Reign of King *James* he abjur'd the Protestant Faith, and Communion of the Church of *England*, under the Name of Heresy; " when,

P. 25.

“ when, and before whom, has he publickly
 “ recanted his Abjuration? Is his Book of
 “ *Rights* his Penitence for his Apostacy? Now
 to do Dr. *W. Tindal* Justice, as well as to take
 off the Prejudice this may cause to weak Minds,
 I shall give a short account of that matter;
 That he coming, as most Boys do, a *rasa Ta-*
bula to the University, and believing (his
 Country Education teaching him no better)
 that all Human and Divine Knowledg was to
 be had there, he quickly fell into all the then
 prevailing Notions mention’d in the two last
 Chapters of the *Rights*, concerning the Power
 of the Clergy: and meeting with none, during
 his long stay there, who question’d the Truth
 of ’em, they by degrees became so fix’d and
 riveted in him, that he no more doubted of
 ’em than of his own Being; and he perceiv’d
 not the Consequences of ’em, till the Roman
 Emissarys (who were busy in making Prose-
 lytes in the University in King *James*’s time,
 and knew how to turn the Weapons of High-
 Church against ’em) caus’d him to see that
 upon those Notions a Separation from the
 Church of *Rome* cou’d not be justify’d; and
 that they who pretended to answer ’em as to
 these Points, did only shuffle, and talk back-
 ward and forward. This made him for some
 small time go to the Popish Mass-house; till
 meeting, upon his coming into the World,
 with People who treated that Notion of the
 Independent Power as it deserv’d; and finding
 the Absurditys of Popery to be much greater
 at hand than they appear at a distance, it
 made him examine the whole matter with all
 the Intention he was capable of: and then he
 quickly found, and was surpriz’d at the Dis-
 covery,

covery, that all his till then undoubted Maxims were so far from having any solid Foundation, that they were built on as great a Contradiction as can be, that of two Independent Powers in the same Society.

Upon this he return'd, as he had good reason, to the Church of *England*, which he found, by examining into her Constitution, disclaim'd all that Independent Power he had been bred up in the belief of: and *Candlemas* 1687. being the last time he saw any of the Popish Tricks, the very next Opportunity, viz. *Easter*, he publickly receiv'd the Sacrament (the Warden giving it him first) in his College-Chappel, tho he cou'd not but apprehend it wou'd be his certain Ruin; for the Papists had not only an Army here, which the King was modelling for their purpose, but they were sure of the Assistance of the Great Champion of Popery, who, the Empire being engag'd in a War with the *Turks*, might assist his dear Ally with as many Troops as he pleas'd, for the Extirpation of the *Northern* Heresy: and all things were like to go here according to their Wishes; the Queen, as without the Gift of Prophecy they cou'd foretel, was to be brought to Bed of a Son. So that there was nothing to skreen a relaps'd Heretick from their utmost Fury.

Yet this, as he has told me more than once, did not so much trouble him, as he was pleas'd with the Opportunity of satisfying the World that he acted out of Principles: and that as he wou'd not scruple to sacrifice his Reputation in joining with the Papists, when he thought they were in the right; so he was willing to run any hazard in quitting them,

as soon as he was made sensible of his Error.

Which having been drawn into by the prejudice of Education, he resolv'd to take nothing on trust for the future; and consequently his Notions, concerning our Civil as well as Religious Libertys, became very different from those in which he was educated: and that created him not a few Enemys among them whom it highly concern'd him not to have disoblig'd. And none, I suppose, except he who has felt the Misfortune, can be sensible how great a one it is to oppose the current Opinions of those one is oblig'd to dwell with, especially where Interest is concern'd. 'Tis only a strong Passion for Truth can make any to be thus singular, among Men who pretend to Authority, and who can't brook so unusual a thing as Contradiction.

And if the *Discourse for the Liberty of the Press*, the *Essay concerning the Rights of Mankind in Matters of Religion*, as well as the *Rights of the Christian Church*, be of his composing, as High-Church say they are, it shews he had nothing more at heart than to prevent others from falling into Error, by such Arguments as himself was deceiv'd with. And considering the Circumstances he is under, his Adversarys can't suggest, unless they have a mind to expose themselves, any other Motive for his writing the *Rights*, as they say he did, than that a Zeal for what he takes to be Truth prevails with him above all other Considerations.

What has inrag'd the Highfliers against the Author of the *Rights*, is his so fully shewing, that their darling Notions do directly, and by necessary Consequence, lead to Popery, that his

his Adversarys have nothing to say to wipe off the Charge. They ought either to quit those Notions, or else answer his Arguments Section by Section, and shew they have no such Tendency. If they do neither, the World will think, that notwithstanding all their railing, they are either Papists in their Hearts, and only want a fair Opportunity to shew it; or else that they maintain such Principles, as they are satisfy'd in their Consciences are false and of fatal Consequence, only because they make for their Interest. And if he who they say is the Author of the *Rights* was really so, it shews what a regard he had to the Protestant Religion, that he chose rather to lie under the Reflection the Highfliers cast on him (for this is not the first time they have aspers'd him with being a Papist during all King *James's* Reign) than to exhibit those Arguments, which caus'd him to have so favourable an Opinion of Popery, till he cou'd produce the Antidote as well as the Poison, in confuting those Principles of High-Church, which are the great Support of Popery. And the confuting their Principles, I suppose was one reason why Monsieur *Le Clerc*, in the Abstract he gives of the *Rights*, says, " They who understand *Eng-* Bibl. Choi-
lish, will do well to read the Original; they sic, Tom.
 " never read a Book so strong, and so well 10. p. 309.
 " supported in favor of those Principles,
 " which Protestants on this side the Water
 " hold in common." And I suppose he mentions this side the Water, because of what he says in another Place: " The Author quotes Ibid. p.
 " certain Passages out of *English* Books, which 360.
 " I have never seen; but if they are quoted
 " faithfully, there are People in *England* who
 " carry

“ carry the Ecclesiastical Pretensions higher
 “ in a Protestant Kingdom, than the *Gallican*
 “ Church does in a Popish: Their Projects can
 “ never succeed, without overturning every
 “ thing, and without falling into a worse Es-
 “ tate than People are in any Popish Country.
 And I believe the Author of the *Rights* keeping
 so exactly to the Principles of the Protestant
 Religion, and of the Church of *England*, in
 opposition to High-Church Notions, is the
 best reason they have for supposing him once
 a Papist; knowing that a shipwreck'd Person
 will be careful to avoid the Rock on which he
 formerly split. A Man of the most ordinary
 Understanding is in no danger of falling into
 Popery, if he is not debauch'd in his early
 Education with High-Church Notions, and
 U——ty Principles; and then a *Chillingworth's*
 Parts can't secure him. And how hard it is to
 fence against the Prejudice of Education, none
 can be ignorant who looks into the World,
 and sees how in most Places Men of the grea-
 test Parts run into the greatest Absurditys.

Sir, I hope you'l pardon the uncorrect Ex-
 pressions and other Faults in Stile, which the
 hast I was in to comply with your Request has
 made me to commit. I am,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant.

T W O

TRACTS

O F

HUGO GROTIUS,

On these Questions :

- I. Whether the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper may be administer'd where there are no Pastors?
- II. Whether it be necessary at all Times to communicate with the Symbols?

Translated into *English*.

The Publisher to the Reader.

THE two following Tracts of Hugo Grotius, having a relation to some of those Passages in The Rights of the Christian Church, which have occasion'd the great Clamour and Outcry against that Book; 'twas thought fit to subjoin 'em here at length, to shew the World that the Author of that Book is not so singular in his Opinions as some have represented him. And lest Grotius's Authority may not have weight enough, as not being of the Church of England, I have likewise added to this Second Defence some noted Tracts of Mr. John Hales of Eaton, which are applicable to the present purpose, as that on the Lord's Supper, the Power of the Keys, the Tract of Schism, &c.

As the last Age did not produce two greater Men, either for solid Learning, Depth of Judgment, or Largeness of Soul; so 'tis hop'd, that a serious Perusal of what they have said, will abate the Heat of such of the Laity as have been misled into a wrong Opinion of the Rights: tho I despair of any thing of that kind in those, who by Writing and Preaching have occasion'd it.

Two Tracts of Hugo Grotius.

Whether the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper may be administred in the Absence of Pastors.



THE Learned *Nicolaus Rigaltius* has lately publish'd certain Tracts of *Tertullian*, corrected by an antient Copy, given by *Agobard*, Bishop of *Lions*, eight hundred years since, to the Cathedral Church of his See. Among which is his Exhortation to Chastity, wherein, after his wonted Rigor, he maintains the Unlawfulness of second Marriages, even in Laymen: For the proof of which, he produces this Argument; for I'll quote his very words, and the rather, because they vary something in the Manuscript I perus'd, from what they are in *Rigaltius's* Edition; they are these: * " But " you'l say, Others may then, who are here " excepted.

* Sed dices, ergo ceteris licet quos excipit. Vani erimus, si putaverimus quod Sacerdotibus non liceat, Laicis licere.

" excepted. We shall but play the fool, if
 " we think the Laity may do what the Cler-
 " gy may not. Are not we of the Laity
 " Priests too? It's written, *He has made us*
 " *Kings and Priests to God and his Father.* The
 " distinction betwixt Clergy, and Laity was
 " made by the Church, and approv'd by the
 " Bench of Elders. So that where there is
 " none of that Bench, you your self both of-
 " fer and baptize, and are your own Priest;
 " nay, where there are three, they make a
 " Church, tho they are Laymen. For every
 " Man lives by his own Faith; nor is there
 " any Acceptance of Persons with God: For
 " *it is not the Hearers, but the Doers of the Law,*
 " *who shall be justify'd before God,* as the Apo-
 " stle says. Therefore if you have the right
 " of Priesthood in your self, you must have a
 " right to exercise your Priesthood when 'tis
 " necessary. Will you baptize with a second
 " Wife? Will you offer with a second Wife?
 " How very criminal must it of necessity be
 " in a Layman, to discharge the Function of a
 " Priest

licere. Nonne & Laici sacerdotes sumus? Scriptum est,
 Regnum quoq; nos & Sacerdotes Deo & Patri suo fecit.
 Differentiam inter Ordinem & Plebem constituit Ecclesia,
 & honor per Ordinis confessum sanctificatus: adeo ubi Ec-
 clesiastici Ordinis non est confessus, & offers & tinguis,
 & sacerdos es tibi solus. Sed ubi tres, Ecclesia est, li-
 cet Laici. Unusquisq; enim suâ fide vivit, nec est perso-
 narum acceptio apud Deum, quoniam non Auditores Legis
 justificantur a Deo sed Factores, secundum quod & Apo-
 stolus dicit: Igitur si habes jus sacerdotis in temetipso,
 ubi necesse est, habeas oportet etiam disciplinam sacerdo-
 tis, ubi necesse sit habere jus sacerdotis. Digamus tinguis?
 Digamus offers? quanto magis Laico Digamo capitale est
 agere

“ Priest after second Marriage, when a Priest
 “ by being remarry’d, is *ipso facto* depriv’d of
 “ his Priesthood? But perhaps you’ll plead
 “ Necessity for your Excuse. I answer, no
 “ Necessity can justify an Excuse which might
 “ have been avoided. In one word, be not
 “ found guilty of a second Marriage, and
 “ then you’ll prevent this pretended Necessity.
 “ ’Tis the Will of God to have us so dis-
 “ pos’d, as to be every where fit for the Ad-
 “ ministration of his Sacraments.” *Rigaltius*
 being to explain this place, wou’d have this
 to be *Tertullian’s* sense, That if a Christian
 shall happen to be at Sea with his Family, and
 be cast upon some strange Coast, where there
 are neither Elders nor Christians, it may be
 lawful for him to offer God the Symbols of
 the Divine Passion, together with the solemn
 Form of Thanksgiving; and to baptize, and
 be his own Priest, because they are enow to
 make a Church, as the Apostle says, *Rom. 16.*
1, 5. and *Philem. 2.* But here *Albaspineus*,
 Bishop of *Orleans*, opposes *Rigaltius*; and the
 better to defend the Right of Presbytery, will
 needs have the word *Offerre* to signify any
 thing rather than what it does; I mean that
 which is term’d by the Apostle, *1 Cor. 10.*
εὐλογεῖν, *blessing*, and *chap. 11. 14. εὐχαριστῆν*,
 giving of Thanks; which latter word is made

agere pro sacerdote, quum ipsi sacerdoti Digamo facto au-
 feratur agere sacerdotem? Sed necessitati, inquis, indul-
 getur. Nulla necessitas excusatur quæ potest non esse.
 Noli deniq; Digamus deprehendi, & non committis in
 necessitatem administrandi, quod non licet Digamo. Om-
 nes nos Deus ita voluit dispositos esse, ut ubiq; Sacramen-
 tis ejus obseundis apti simus.

use of by *Justin* too, for that which is vulgarly call'd Consecrating. But that the word *Offerre* is frequently taken in such a sense, both by *Tertullian* and his Disciple *Cyprian*, he neither can deny, nor indeed produce any one place, where, when join'd with *Tingere*, which signifies to baptize, it has any other. For there is no Rite except this, which can, upon equal terms, be join'd with Baptism. And this is the ordinary Sense in which 'tis found in contra-distinction to Baptism, not only in Church-Authors, but in the Writers of the Civil Law, as in the beginning of the sixth Chapter of *Justinian's* 137th Novel, and in the end of the Preface to the same Novel. Besides, the whole stress of *Tertullian's* Argument lies in affirming, that there is nothing in the Sacerdotal Function of so sublime a nature, which may not be done by a Lay-man, where Priests cannot be had. To demonstrate this, he instances in what Lay-men, without such a necessity, might not do, but shou'd leave to the Priests, as to baptize, and pronounce the solemn Words by which the Eucharist is made. And elsewhere treating of Baptism singly, he has the same Sense, tho in a different Expression: " * The Chief Priest, who
 " is the Bishop, has the Privilege of admini-
 " string; and after him the Presbyters and
 " Deacons, but not without the Bishop's Or-
 " der; that the Dignity of the Church may
 " be preserv'd, which is necessary to keep

* Dandi quidem jus habet summus sacerdos qui est Episcopus, dehinc Presbyteri & Diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi auctoritate, propter Ecclesiæ honorem, quo salvo salva pax est; alioquin & Laicis jus est.

" Peace :

“Peace : were it not for that, the Laity have
 “a Right.” Which he himself explains thus ;
 “Content * your self to make use of this
 “Right, only when the Exigences of Place,
 “Time, or Person, shall require it.” This
 being then *Tertullian’s* Judgment of Baptism,
 That it ought not to be administer’d by Lay-
 men, unless when Priests are not to be had, we
 cannot in reason suppose him in his Exhorta-
 tion to Chastity, to intend any other sort of
 Offering, than such as, without the like ne-
 cessity, was not then made by Lay-men ; his
 Reasons in both places agreeing, which are no
 other than the conserving of Peace, and pub-
 lick Order. And in the above-cited place he
 twice argues from Baptism to Oblation, as to
 something, if not superior, at least equal to
 it. Further, ’tis very observable, that when
 he says, *Every one lives by his own Faith, and
 that it is not the Hearers, but the Doers of the
 Law who shall be justify’d* ; he hints, That the
 Right of Offering was given to all Christians
 in common, and even to the Apostles, not as
 Apostles, but as Christians : As *St. Paul* (1 Cor.
 11. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29.) interprets his own
 Penman *Luke’s* saying, *Τὸτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἑμὴν ἀ-
 νάμνησιν*, *Do in this in remembrance of me*, as
 meant in general to all Christians. There is
 another Passage of *Tertullian’s* in his *Corona Mi-
 litis*, or *Soldier’s Garland*, very much to this
 purpose: the words are not many, but of
 great weight. After having mention’d Bap-
 tism, he passeth to the Lord’s Supper, and its
 Celebration, as in the other place ; and which

* Sufficiat scilicet in necessitatibus ut utaris, sicubi aut
 loci, aut temporis, aut personæ conditio compellit.

he wou'd have administer'd by Priests, or rather Bishops, whom *Justin* call'd *προεσώτες*, Presidents, not on account of any Command of Christ, but only for Order sake. For after having shew'd, that there had been a variation in many things from the first usage, on the account of Peace and better Government; and had instanc'd in the tasting Milk and Honey before Baptism, and abstaining from washing for some days after; he subjoins these words: “ * The Sacrament of the Eucharist, which “ was committed by our Lord to all, and at “ Meal-times, we now receive even before “ Day-break, and from no other hands than “ those of our Presidents.” He affirms here, That the Eucharist was appointed by our Lord, to be at the ordinary time of Repast, which was at Supper; and that it was not entrusted to a certain Order of People, but to all Christians in common. And while he asserts this Rite to be thus instituted by Christ, he intimates its having been so celebrated by the first Christians: The Truth whereof, were it pertinent, I cou'd demonstrate by many Testimonys out of the Antients; and some footsteps of this Custom remain'd even in the very Anniversary of the Institution of the Supper, down to the times of St. *Austin*. And in saying 'twas committed to all, he only inculcates the same Argument, which he had us'd in the foremention'd Exhortation to Chastity. Nor was this *Tertullian's* private Opinion only, but common to all the Christians of that Age; else

* Eucharistiæ sacramentum & in tempore victus & omnibus mandatum a Domino, etiam antelucanis cœtibus; nec de aliorum manu nisi Præsidentium sumimus.

we must take him for a very weak Disputant, who wou'd build an Argument upon what he knew they wou'd not grant him: Nor was it a mere Opinion, but receiv'd Practice among the Christians of that Age, where such Occasions offer'd. Therefore he says, *Tinguis, Offers, You baptize, you offer*; that is, 'tis your Custom so to do. But the truth of this is evinc'd by the Practice even of latter times: For *Frumentius*, a Lay-man, being come from *Alexandria* to *India*, which I take to be *Ethiopia* (from that time subject to the Patriarch of *Alexandria*) he persuaded those he had converted to Christ, and the few who had accompany'd him thither (to use *Theodore's* words) " * To meet and celebrate the Sacred Rites, " as practis'd in the *Roman* Empire." But there was neither Bishop nor Presbyter yet among them; for this *Frumentius* was, on his return to *Alexandria*, and relating the matter, the first who was sent thither by *Athanasius* with Episcopal Dignity; and he afterwards ordain'd 'em Presbyters. Nay further, the antient Author of the *Martyrology* both believ'd himself, and wou'd have others believe, that Women, where there were no Men, made use of this common Right; who on the Day before the *Calends* of *June*, says thus of *Petronella* the holy Virgin at *Rome*: " She † was " Daughter to the most blessed Apostle *Peter*, " and after performing many Miracles of " Healing,

* Κατὰ τὸ 'Ρωμαίων ἔθος συναγείρεται τε καὶ τις ἱερὰς ὁπλελὲν λείψματος.

† Romæ sanctæ Petronellæ virginis. Hæc fuit filia beatissimi Petri Apostoli, quæ post multa miracula sanitarum, cum

“ Healing, one *Flaccus Comes* wou’d oblige her
 “ to marry him : she beg’d three Days respite,
 “ and continuing in Fasting and Prayer, to-
 “ gether with her holy Companion *St. Feli-*
 “ *cilla*, the third day she celebrated the Mys-
 “ terys of the Lord’s Oblation, and had no
 “ sooner receiv’d the Sacrament of Christ,
 “ than she bow’d her self on her Couch and
 “ expir’d.

We cannot think with the abovesaid Bishop of *Orleans*, that ever since the first Rise of Christianity, it was the peculiar Right of Presbyters to administer the Eucharist, or as we now speak, to consecrate it : for ’tis plain, from *Acts* 8. 36. that Deacons baptiz’d (for that *Philip* was not an Apostle, but a Deacon, is agreed by the Antients, as well as evident from *ver.* 5, 14. of that Chapter) as well as from the abovesaid Passage of *Tertullian*, and many others which might be mention’d. And ’tis very apparent that the Lord’s Supper was celebrated by them. It may therefore seem a matter of just Admiration, that there can be found Men, otherways not unvers’d in the Antiquitys of the Christian Church, who will still deny it, unless we are to look upon it (as perhaps we are) rather a politick Mumble than a flat Denial. For in the Council of *Laodicea*, which sat not long after that of *Nice*, there is this Canon ; “ That Subdeacons (as *Dionysius Exiguus* justly renders *ὑπηρεῖτας*)

cum eam Flaccus Comes suo vellet sociare conjugio, tridui inducias postulans, & cum sanctâ Felicillâ collectaneâ suâ continuis jejuniis atque orationibus vacans, tertio celebratis Dominicæ oblationis mysteriis, mox ut Christi sacramentum accepit, reclinans se in lectulo amisit spiritum.

“ ought

“ ought not to give the * Bread, or bless the
 “ Cup.” Whence we may learn two things :
 1. That till that time, by reason of the daily
 increase of Communicants (as I believe) the
 Sub-Deacons did not only deliver the Bread,
 but pronounce the words of Blessing or Con-
 secration over the Cup. 2. That this was not
 then forbidden to Deacons, but only to Sub-
 Deacons. The same may be learnt out of the
 Council of *Ancyra*, the antientest we have any
 mention of after that of *Antioch*, which con-
 demn’d *Paul of Samosatum*: For thus it’s or-
 der’d in the first Canon of that Synod, con-
 cerning such Deacons as relaps’d to Idolatry.
 “ As † for those Deacons who have offer’d
 “ Sacrifice, but suffer’d since for the Christian
 “ Faith, they shall still be allow’d their former
 “ Character, but they must be suspended from
 “ all sacerdotal Function, and neither offer the
 “ Bread nor the Cup, nor preach.” Where
 the word Offering is manifestly us’d in the
 Sense it hath been shewn to have both in *Ter-
 tullian*, *Cyprian*, &c. and frequently in the
 Novels of *Justinian*; and is the same that in
 the Council of *Laodicea* is call’d *εὐλογεῖν*, Bles-
 sing.

There are in the *East-Indies*, both on the
 Coast of *Malabar*, and several other places,
 certain Christians of *St. Thomas*, as they are
 call’d, both by themselves and the *Portugueses*;

* Ὅτι ὁ δὲ ὑπηρέτας ἄξιον διδόναι, ὅτε πόσημιον εὐ-
 λογεῖν.

† Διακόνες ὁμοίως θύσαντας, μετὰ τὸ ταῦτα ἀναπαλά-
 σαντας, τὴν μὲν αὐτὴν ἔχειν τιμὴν πεπαῦσαι διὰ αὐτὴς πά-
 σης τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας, τῶν τε τὸ ἄξιον ἢ πόσημιον ἀναφέ-
 ρειν καὶ κηρύσσειν.

who,

who, as appears from the Account the *Spaniards* have given of 'em, are most strict Observers of antient Usages; especially if we compare what they say of them with the antientest Writings of Christianity, which they punctually observe, tho they never read. *Antony Govea*, who is angry with 'em for not observing the Rites of the *Latin Church*, recounts many things of 'em; particularly, That when, some Ages ago, a grievous Persecution was rais'd against 'em by Pagan Princes, which fell so heavy on their Bishops and Priests, that there was not one of 'em left alive; they being put to the necessity above-represented by *Tertullian*, requested one of the Deacons, who surviv'd, to administer the Sacraments, as their Bishops and Priests us'd to do: and he comply'd with their Desires. This the *Spanish* Writer blames, as well as many other things, which they had in common with the Primitive Christians; yet are so much the better preserv'd by them, as their Morals are more simple and sincere, and they are unacquainted with our manner of Lording it over other Mens Faith. Nor has the word *Offering* any other sense in the Canon of the first Council of *Arles*, held under *Constantine the Great*: "As
 " for those * Deacons, who, we understand,
 " do offer in many Places, we have thought fit
 " to forbid it." Here in the *West* the Deacons were first forbidden, what the Subdeacons were only forbidden in the *East* by the Council of *Laodicea*; there being then, it seems, Presbyters enow in *France*, who being wanting in

* De Diaconis quos cognovimus multis locis offerre, placuit minimè fieri debere.

Asia, it can be no great wonder, if the Deacons there continu'd longer in the exercise of their antient Rights. Nay, there are Examples, even of later times, of Laymens administering the Lord's Supper to each other in the absence of Priests, which shew the Opinion now oppos'd not to be of any long Discontinuance: For the 57th Canon of the Council of *Trull* runs thus; "If * a Layman, in the presence of a Priest or Deacon, shall administer to himself the Divine Mysterys, he shall be suspended a Week. Where these things are to be noted:

1. That it is not forbidden to Laymen, except in the presence of a Deacon or Priest.

2. Nor to a Deacon, except in the presence of a Presbyter.

3. That the Penance is so short, as to shew it was then accounted rather a breach of good Order, than any great Crime. In the Book ascrib'd to *Sophronius*, and therefore commonly call'd, *Σοφρονίου λειμωνάειον*, *Sophronius's Meadow*, there is this Story of an old Lay-Anchoret, and it is the 199th in the † Book: "One of the Fathers tells us, that a certain holy old Man of a pure Life, had, while he was offering, a Vision of Angels standing, some on his right, and others on his left hand." Now the Authority of this Book must be acknowledg'd valid by such as own the second

* Λαϊκὸς πρεσβυτέρῳ παρόντι, ἢ διακόνῳ, εἰ τῶν θείων ἐκκλησιῶν μυστηρίων μετὰ δῶ, ἐβδομάδα μίαν ἀφορίζεται.

† Δηγήσασθαι τις τῶν πατέρων, ὅτι τις τῶν γερόντων καθαρός καὶ ἅγιος ὢν, ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν τὴν προσκομιδὴν, ἀγγέλους ἐβλέπεν ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξ ἐναντίων ἱσταμένους.

Council of *Nice*, since they make use of his Testimony.

But that I may come nearer home, in Place as well as Time; there liv'd in the Reign of *Charles* the Fifth King of *France*, a very famous Commander, nam'd *Bertrand Guiscelin*, whose Story was written, either in his own time, or in those next ensuing; and that in such *French*, as carrys with it the undoubted Marks of its Antiquity. A little before he gave the *English* General Battel, 'tis related of his Men, "That * in that Place they refresh'd
 " themselves with the Bread and Wine they
 " brought with 'em, and some took of the
 " Bread, and gave it the name of the Holy
 " Sacrament; and after they had confest their
 " Sins one to another, they us'd it instead of
 " the Communion." *Escommichement* was a word us'd in that Age, to signify the Communion. The like Storys there are in many of the old Romances, of *Agmon's* Sons and others: which sort of Writings, tho very trifling in themselves, yet many times furnish Learned Antiquarys with considerable Traces of antient Usages and Opinions. Neither is the Bishop of *Orleans* to look upon me as the first Discoverer of this Practice: No, the great *Erasmus*, whose Eye nothing almost cou'd escape, both saw it before me, and plainly hinted it to *Cuthbert Tonstal*, in a Letter to

* Et in icelle place se desjurerent de pain & de vin qu'ils avoyent apportés avec eux. Et prenoient les aucuns de iceux du pain, & le seignoyent du nom du saint Sacrement; & apres qu'ils estoient confessez les un a l'autre de leurs pechez, le usoyent en lieu d' escommichement.

him, which is in the 26th Book of his Epistles, contain'd in the 3d Tome of his Works; where he says, " It † is evident there was, " in the Apostles Times, a Communion which " Laymen gave each other, attended with " Prayer and Benediction; and that Bread " ('tis probable) they call'd our Lord's Body, " it being a familiar use of Speech, even in the " Sacred Writings, to call both the Sign, and " the Thing signify'd, by the same Name : " And it may be *Origen* speaks in that Place of " such a Communion as this is. Nor indeed " can we find any where in the Canonical " Books, that the Apostles ever consecrated " the Lord's Body, as the manner now is, " upon the Altar, unless it be in 1 *Cor.* 11. and " yet the tenth Chapter, upon which *St. Paul's* " words in the eleventh depend, seems not " to intend any Sacerdotal Consecration nei- " ther." Thus *Erasmus*. This then being under- stood, 'twill not be hard to assign another Passage of *Tertullian* its true sense, which is wrested several ways by learned Men; it is in his Book, *De velandis Virginibus*: " It * is " not, *says he*, allowable for a Woman to " speak

† Constat temporibus Apostolorum fuisse Synaxin, quam Laici inter se faciebant adhibitâ precatione & benedictione; & eam panem (ut est probabile) appellabant Corpus Domini, ut frequenter etiam in sacris Literis eadem vox signo & rei signatæ accommodatur. Fieri enim potest ut de hâc Synaxi loquatur ibi *Origines*. Nec usquam in Canonicis Literis invenitur, ubi Apostoli certò consecraverint Corpus Domini, ut nunc consecratur in Altari, excepto uno loco prioris ad *Corinthios* Epistolæ, cap. 11. & tamen in cap. 10. unde fluxerat *Pauli* Sermo, non videtur agi de consecratione sacerdotali.

* Non permittitur mulieri in Ecclesia loqui; sed nec docere,

“ speak in the Church ; no not to Preach, nor
 “ Christen, nor Offer, nor to do any thing
 “ which belongs to Men, much less to take
 “ upon ’em to be Priests.” ’Twas the Custom,
 it seems, in the Conventicles of Hereticks,
 for the Women to undertake to teach pub-
 lickly. But *Tertullian* is so far from approving
 this Practice, that he will not allow them, no
 not in private in their own Houses, either to
 Preach, Baptize, or Bless the Eucharist ; it
 being the proper Work of Priests to teach,
 and perform the other Offices in publick, and
 of Laymen, upon Exigences and urgent Occa-
 sions, in private. That this was really *Ter-*
tullian’s Judgment, that Women ought not to
 Baptize, is plain from his Book of Baptism ;
 tho others no doubt restrain’d ’em, as from
 Preaching and Offering, so from Baptizing,
 only when neither Priests, nor other Men
 cou’d be had : for that Women were not ex-
 cluded by some, as in Prison, or the like Soli-
 tude, from performing these Functions, has
 been made appear above.

docere, nec tingere, nec offerre, nec ullius virilis mune-
 ris, nedum sacerdotalis officii sortem sibi vendicare.

Whether

Whether it be necessary at all Times to
Communicate with the Symbols ?

SOCRATES relates of *John of Antioch*, Eccl. Hist. lib. 5. c. 30. (from his great Eloquence, by After-times, surnam'd *Chrysostom* or *Golden Tongue*) That living in the State of Presbyterate at *Antioch*, when the Church there was divided into two opposite Factions, distinguish'd from each other by the names of *Meletius* and *Paulinus*, he withdrew from the *Meletians* (*Meletius* first dying) but did not communicate with *Paulinus*; and continu'd so for three years without joining to either Party. This may administer occasion of Enquiry, why a Person of such eminent Piety, Learning and Prudence, shou'd thus manage himself: the rather, because we find his Example follow'd by so many afterwards, on occasion of that mortal Feud, which happen'd throout *Egypt*, and all the *East*, after the rising of the Council of *Chalcedon*, who term'd themselves for this reason *ἑκαστομένους*, *Separatists*; of whom mention is made, among many others, by *Leontius* of *Byzantium*, in his Tract of *Sects*: of which number was *John*, surnam'd *Diacrinomenos*, the *Separatist*, a Writer of Church-History, made use of in the fifth Act of the seventh Council.

N

And,

And, 1. it may deserve our Enquiry, whether Christ's Appointment of the Supper has in it the nature of a proper Precept, at least of such a one as is universal and uncondition'd: for the antient Church may be thought to have had some reason in terming it a Direction, rather than a Precept. For the better examining of the whole Business then from the bottom, we must observe, That what occasion'd its being at first instituted, was a certain old Custom among the *Hebrews*, describ'd at large by *Scaliger* in his sixth Book *de Emendatione Temporum*, and by *Paulus Fagius* upon the *Chaldee* Paraphrase of *Deut. 8*. For it is a great Truth what the most learned *Hugh Broughton* notes upon *Daniel*, That Christ instituted no new Rites. Baptism was in use among the *Jews*, when any Person was profelyted from Idolatry. *Maimonides* frequently mentions it, and it remains to this Day a Custom among them. " *John's* * Baptism was not primarily and " absolutely of Divine Appointment, but as it " was fit, by virtue of a Custom receiv'd a- " mong the *Jews*, to be accommodated to the " Doctrine he taught." So *John* the Baptist, to shew 'em that while they profess to worship the One true God, their Morals were notwithstanding as corrupt and unconformable to the Divine Laws, as theirs who worship'd false Gods; and that therefore they needed equal Purgation; did by an allowable Translation from one like Case to another, signify this fully

* Baptismus Johannis non primò neque absolutè divinæ institutionis est, sed ex hypothesi & conditione moris apud Judæos recepti, quatenus iste ad id quòd prædicabat Johannes ritè transferri ac usurpari se sinebat.

by Baptizing 'em. Our Saviour Christ made use of it too, and appointed it for both *Jew* and *Gentile*, superadding the Profession of his own Name with the Promise of the Spirit. Another antient Custom among 'em was to lay their Hands upon such as they pray'd for, thereby signifying their Hope of that Divine Assistance being granted to him whom they pray'd for; and the Apostles did only retain it. Hence came the use of it in inviting the Sick, confirming such as have been baptis'd, ordering Elders, absolving Penitents, and (as is customary still in the *East*) in blessing Marriages, as one Spring parted into so many Streams. 'Twas a Custom with the *Jews*, and still continues amongst 'em, upon their Festival Days, which they call *Good*, to invite to Supper their Kindred, Friends and Neighbours, above the number of Ten, but under Twenty; and this made a just Company, or as *Josephus* calls it, *Φεατεία*, Fraternity. At the close of this Supper they brought of their finest Bread, which was such as was easily broken, and gave it to the Master of the Feast, who distributed it in small pieces to the Guests; then was brought the Grace-Cup, of which the Master having first drunk, he afterwards deliver'd it to be handed about. All this was accompany'd with certain words of Thanks to God, who had, out of the Earth, created Bread and the Fruit of the Vine, *פרי הגפן γέννημα ἀμπέλου*, which was follow'd with some Relation suitable to the reason of the Festival, and a Eucharisty or Hymn of Thanksgiving; at the Passover for their Escape out of *Egypt*; in the Pentecost, for the giving of the Law; at the Feast of Pavilions, call'd *σκηνοπηγία*, for their being led and supported in the Wilderness. To all which was

added by Christ the Remembrance of his own cruel Death. That Direction then, *Do this in remembrance of me*, is no definitive Precept, except this be taken along with it, viz. as oft as you make Festival-Suppers, and close 'em with the customary *Postcœnium*. This is made plain by St. Paul, who explaining the words of Christ, adds, *Do this, as oft as you drink, in remembrance of me*. Which must be supply'd in the other part too, as is well noted by *Picherel*, in his learned Dissertation of the Mass; "Do this, as often as you eat, in commemoration of me." 'Tis certain that the Primitive Christians, as often as they made such Feasts, began 'em, after the antient manner, with Praises to God for the Creation of all things, particularly Bread and Wine; and then proceeded to commemorate our Saviour's Death. The Constitutions, commonly call'd St. Clement's's, plainly shew this. *Justin* says, "That we may jointly render Thanks to God, for having form'd the World, and all things in it, for the use of Man, and for having deliver'd us from that State of Corruption in which we once were." *Irenæus* has these words: "And being his Members, we are nourish'd by the Creatures he has bestow'd upon us, &c." *Origen* against *Celsus*, speaking of God, says: "Who has replenish'd us with his Benefits, who himself has made us, and rendred us worthy of existing after this Life, when that Hope which he has given us shall be fulfil'd. And we signify our Gratitude to him, by that Bread which is call'd the Eucharist." To which refers that in the Latin Mass: "O God, who hast miraculously form'd the Dignity of Human Subitance." As likewise this: "Thro Christ our Lord,

“ by whom thou, Lord, ever createst all these
 “ good things, &c.” Christ’s Intention then
 was to excite the *Jews* particularly, in a way
 agreeable to their Customs, to join the Re-
 membrance of his Death in their *Postcænia*,
 with that of God’s other Benefits. And *St. Paul*,
 the Doctor of the *Gentiles*, taking advantage
 of what they practis’d in the Worship of their
 false Gods, introduc’d this excellent Custom
 among ’em: For they were wont, when any
 body sacrific’d, to return him part of the Offer-
 ing, for his own and his Friends entertainment.
 Something of this may be met with in several
 places of *Aristophanes*. And to this refers what
 the Scholiast notes upon his *Plutus*: “ The
 “ richer sort, after they had sacrific’d to *He-*
 “ *cate*, made a Supper in the Cross-ways about
 “ Evening, at the time of the new Moon;
 “ which the poorer sort, being hungry, came
 “ and eat up.” Hence *Plautus* in his *Miles*
Gloriosus, makes mention of the inviting and
 bringing People to Sacrifice. *Lycus*, in his
Pœnulus, speaks thus: “ I’ll go look me some
 “ agreeable Guests to bear us Company; mean-
 “ time let the Offering be brought hither.”
Gelasinus, in his *Stichus*, says: “ Is the Sacri-
 “ fice ready? How many Lambs were offer’d?”
 Likewise *Virgil*, in his 3d *Eclog*: “ When I
 “ sacrifice a Calf for the Increase of my Crop,
 “ let me have your Company.” This Practice,
 omitting only the faulty part, *St. Paul* recom-
 mended to the *Gentile* Christians, as agreeable
 to the Direction of Christ, *Luke* 14. 13. for the
 Rich to entertain the Poor, that they might
 sometimes fare better than they did at Home.
 Hence it came to be call’d *Agape*, a *Love-Feast*:
 whereof *Tertullian* speaks thus in his *Apologe-*
tick;

tick; “ * The very Name of our Supper be-
 “ speaks the Reason of it, for it is call’d by a
 “ word which signifys Love in *Greek*. How
 “ great soever the Charges of it may be, it is
 “ all Gain that’s laid out on so pious an ac-
 “ count: for by it we relieve and refresh the
 “ Poor.” These Feasts were always ended with
 distributing Bread, and with the Cup of Thank-
 fulness for all God’s Blessings, and for Christ’s
 Passion in particular. To this *Tertullian* refers
 in his Tract of *the Garland*, where he says,
 “ Our Lord appointed the Sacrament of the
 “ Eucharist to be observ’d at the ordinary
 “ Meal-times, as was afterwards practis’d;
 “ and not at the Assemblys held before day-
 “ break.” *Socrates* the Historian tells us,
 The primitive Use was retain’d a long time in
Egypt, but that the Intemperance of some oc-
 casion’d it at length to be discontinu’d. And
 that some Tracts of it remain’d a long time
 after, even on the Anniversary day of its In-
 stitution, appears by a Canon of the third
 Council of *Carthage*, and by an Epistle of St.
Austin to *Januarius*. Neither do we find it
 any where stil’d by St. *Paul* directly a Precept,
 but rather a Practice or Custom: *I receiv’d what*
I deliver’d, says he. Nor does he invite all
 promiscuously to it, but only such as have well
 examin’d themselves, whether they had the
 Spirit of Love or no, of which their partaking
 of the Bread and Wine was a Symbol. But
 such is, and ever has been the nature of Sym-

παραλα-
 βον ὅ καὶ
 παραδωκα.

* Coena nostra de nomine rationem sui ostendit: id vo-
 catur quod Dilectio penes Græcos. Quantiscunque sumpti-
 bus constet, lucrum est pietatis nomine facere sumptum:
 siquidem inopes quosque refrigerio isto juvamus.

bols,

bols, even under the Rigor of the *Mosaick* Law, that they might, for a probable Reason, be safely laid aside. Thus we find *David* converting to his own Use the holy Bread, which by the Law was appropriated to the Priests. Thus Circumcision, so strictly enjoin'd, and the Paschal Festival, were both omitted, during the Peoples 40 Years Travels in the Wilderness, because they cou'd not conveniently, in their continual Marches, rest so long; as the Solemnity in the one; and the Cure of their Soreness in the other Case did require; see *Josh. 5.* King *Hezekiah* also broke down the brazen Serpent, tho of *Moses's* making, because 'twas perverted to Superstition. Thus we read, that such of the ten Tribes, as after *Jeroboam's* Revolt retain'd the true Worship of God, forbore notwithstanding to go to the Temple at *Jerusalem*, tho strictly commanded to do it by God himself; and this, that they might not give offence to their jealous Princes. Add to all this, 2 *Chron. 30. 17, 18. and 24. 12, 13.* compar'd with *Lev. 6. 26, 30. and Chap. 10. 17, 19, 20.* See also *Maimonides*, in his *Ductor Dubitantium*, III. 41. Now these seem to be just Causes for not communicating by the Symbols.

First, If the Guides of our Church do, either expressly or tacitly, impose upon us the Profession of certain Opinions, to which we can't in Conscience assent. For this Cause *St. Jerom* refus'd to communicate with the Clergy of *Syria*, because he was afraid to assert three *Hypostases* in God, he understanding Substance by that Word, as may be seen in several of his Epistles, especially those to Pope *Damasus*.

Secondly, If this way of Communion be so far from answering the end of its Institution, which is to profess and cherish our Fellowship with all good Christians; as on the contrary, to serve only for a Test and Mark of Distinction for a Party and Faction; and we are by it to signify, that we reject and disown other good Christians, who agree with us in the Fundamentals of Religion, and live as piously as our selves.

A *Third* Reason may be, that it may sometimes fall out, that a Person, by not communicating with either side, may be in a better Capacity to exercise his Charity towards all: And this I believe was more especially *St. Chrysostom's* Reason. For what is more just than when there is such a Contention, the Signs shou'd give way to the Things signify'd, and the Kernel be prefer'd before the Shell? We may then without question sometimes say with *St. Austin*, *Believe, and thou hast eaten*: That is, believe with such a Faith as works by Love, which is the whole Scope of Christianity, and is call'd new Obedience; as may be prov'd by comparing these Places of *St. Paul*, *Gal. 5. 6.* and *6. 15. 1 Cor. 7. 19.* But it is too natural for most Men, * *To play at work, and work at play.*

I shall not here answer what some urge from *John 6. 53.* since they, who have understood that place of Symbolical Eating, have at last carry'd it to that height, as not only to administer the Eucharist to new-born Children, but to pronounce them all damn'd who die without it; when in truth the term of Eating and

* Τὸ μὲν πᾶρεσθαι ἔργον ὡς πρὸς μέθην,
Τὸ δ' ἔργον ὡς πᾶρεσθαι ἐκ πρὸς μέθην.

Drinking there, means only Apprehending, Meditating, and Digesting into Practice. *Maimonides* discourses learnedly on this Sense of the word Eating, in his above-mention'd *Ductor Dubitantium*, l. 29. And that this way of speaking was familiar among the *Jews*, appears by *Jer.* 15. 16. *Ezek.* 3. 3. *Prov.* 9. 5. *Apocal.* 10. 9. *Ecclus.* 15. 3. and 24. 29. *Philo* says well: "Eating is a Symbol of the Soul's Feeding; and the Soul feeds by admitting brave Principles, and acting by a right Rule." And in another place: "They who have participated, do know already; and they who are in Nature's Favor, shall know more, for they have an Invitation too to partake of this Feast: I intend not a Feast where the Delicates of a pamper'd Appetite feed the Body; but where the Mind is refresh'd and chear'd with a Regalia of brave and excellent Propertys." And thus *St. Basil* expounds the above-nam'd place of *St. John*, in his Apology to the *Cæsarians*; as also *St. Austin*, where he says, the meaning of it is, That we ought to be conform to our Lord's Passion. Not unlike to this was the mistake of those who conceited the place in *St. John* (which speaks of a New Birth wrought by the Spirit's purifying, which is by a certain form of Speech, whereby one thing is express'd by two, call'd *Water and the Spirit*) to be meant of external Baptism; and hereupon conclude such an absolute Necessity for it, that without it poor Infants must be eternally tormented: while the *Jews* have milder thoughts of the Omission of Circumcision; the Punishment of which, they say, can't extend to the Infants, but to their Parents. Besides, the judicious Reader will easily discern, that none can be intended

tended there, except those who are of Years, and capable of Information. The *Greeks* were not insensible of this, as is plain from their Custom of deferring Baptism till Years of Maturity, twenty or more. Nor were they only of the common sort who did this, but their greatest Pillars; as for example, *Chrysostom*, who had without doubt a Christian Mother, and was educated by her in the time of her Widowhood: And also *Gregory Nazianzen*, whose Father and Mother were both Christians, and his Father also a Bishop, who instructed him in every thing tending to Piety.

SEVERAL
TRACTS

By the Ever Memorable

Mr. *JOHN HALES*,
Of *Eaton-College*, &c.

VIZ.

- I. Concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.
 - II. The Power of the Keys, and Auricular Confession.
 - III. Concerning Schism and Schismatics, &c.
-

TRACTS

MR. JOHN HALE,

of Essex College, &c.

The following is a list of the
Tracts published
by the Board of the Kings and
Queens College, London.
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Tracts published by the
Board of the Kings and
Queens College, London.



On the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Kind Sir,



IN perusal of your Letters, together with the Schedule inclos'd, no Circumstance did so much move me as this, That so ordinary Points as are discuss'd there, and that in a bare and ordinary manner, shou'd amuse either your self or any Man else, that pretends to ordinary Knowledg in Controversys in Christian Religion. For the Points therein discuss'd are no other than the Subject of every common Pamphlet, and sufficiently known (that I may so say) in every Barber's Shop : Yet because you require my Opinion of Matters there in question, I willingly afford it you, tho I fear I shall more amuse you with telling you the Truth, than the Disputants there did, by abusing you with Error. For the plain and necessary (tho perhaps unwelcom) Truth is, That in the greater part of the Dispute, both Partys much mistook themselves, and that fell out which is in the common Proverb, *scil. Whilst the one milks the Ram, the other holds under the Sieve.* That you may see this Truth with your eyes, I divide your whole Dispute into two Heads;

Heads ; the one concerning the *Eucharist*, the other concerning the *Church's mistaking it self about Fundamentals*.

For the first, it consists of two Parts ; of a Proposition, and of a Reply : The Proposition expresses (at least he that made it intended it so to do, tho he mistakes) the Doctrine of the Reform'd Churches, concerning the Presence of Christ in the Eucharist. The Reply doth the like for the Church of *Rome* in the same Argument. Now that you may see how indifferently I walk, I will open the Mistakes of both Partys, that so the Truth of the thing it self (being unclouded of Errors) may the more clearly shine forth.

The first Mistake common to both is, That they ground themselves much upon the words of Consecration, as they are call'd ; and suppose, that upon the pronouncing of those words, something befalls that Action, which otherwise wou'd not ; and that without those words the Action were lame. Sir, I must confess my Ignorance to you, I find no ground for the necessity of this doing. Our Saviour instituting that Holy Ceremony, commands us to do what he did, leaves us no Precept of saying any Words ; neither will it be made appear, that either the blessed Apostles or Primitive Christians had any such Custom : Nay, the contrary will be made probably to appear out of some of the antientest Writings of the Church's Ceremonials. Our Saviour indeed us'd the Words, but it was to express what his meaning was ; had he barely acted the thing, without expressing himself by some such Form of Words, we cou'd never have known what it was he did. But what necessity

ty is there now of so doing? for when the Congregation is met together, to the breaking of Bread and Prayer, and see Bread and Wine upon the Communion-Table, is there any Man can doubt of the meaning of it, altho the Canon be not read? It was the farther solemnizing and beautifying that Holy Action which brought the Canon in; and not an Opinion of adding any thing to the Substance of the Action: For that the Words were us'd by our Saviour to work any thing upon the Bread and Wine, can never out of Scripture or Reason be deduc'd; and beyond these two, I have no ground for my Religion, neither in Substance nor in Ceremony. The main Foundation that upholds the Necessity of this Form of Action now in use, is Church-Custom and Church-Error.

Now for that Topick Place of Church-Custom, it is generally too much abus'd: For whereas naturally the Necessity of the thing ought to give warrant to the Practice of the Church, I know not by what Device Matters are turn'd about, and the customary Practice of the Church is alledg'd to prove the Necessity of the thing; as if things had receiv'd their Original from the Church-Authority, and not, as the Truth is, from a higher Hand. As for the Church's Error, on which I told you this Form of Action is founded, it consists in the uncautelous taking up an unsound ungrounded Conclusion of the Fathers for a religious Maxim. St. *Ambrose*, I trow, was he that said it, and Posterity has too generally applauded it, *Accedat verbum ad Elementum, & fiat Sacramentum*. By which they wou'd persuade us, against all Experience, that to
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make up a Sacrament, there must be something said and something done; whereas indeed to the perfection of a Sacrament, or holy Mystery (for both these are one) 'tis sufficient that one thing be done whereby another is signify'd, tho nothing be said at all. When *Tarquinius* was walking in his Garden, a Messenger came and ask'd him, what he wou'd have done to the Town of *Gabii*, then newly taken? He answer'd nothing, but with his Wand struck off the Tops of the highest Pop-pys; and the Messenger understanding his meaning, cut off the Heads of the Chief of the City. Had this been done *in Sacris*, it had been forthwith truly a Sacrament, or Holy Mystery. *Cum in omnibus Scientiis voces significant res, hoc habet proprium Theologia, quod ipse res significata per voces, etiam significant aliquid, saith Aquinas*; and upon the second Signification are all spiritual and mystical Senses founded: So that *in Sacris*, a Mystery or Sacrament is then acted, when one thing is done and another is signify'd, as it is in the Holy Communion, tho nothing be said at all. The antient Sacrifices of the *Jews*, whether weekly, monthly, or yearly, their Passover, their sitting in Booths, &c. these were all Sacraments; yet we find not any sacred Forms of Words, us'd by the Priests or People in the execution of 'em.

To sum up that which we have to say in this Point: The calling upon the words of Consecration in the Eucharist, is too weakly founded to be made argumentative; for the Action is perfect, whether those Words be us'd or forborn: And in truth to speak my Opinion, I see no great harm cou'd ensue, were

were they quite omitted. Certainly thus much good wou'd follow, that some part (tho not a little one) of the Superstition that adheres to that Action, by reason of an ungrounded Conceit of the Necessity and Force of the Words in it, wou'd forthwith peel off and fall away. I wou'd not have you understand me so, as if I wou'd prescribe for, or desire the disuse of the Words; only two things I wou'd commend to you : First, That the use of the Canon is a thing indifferent. And, Secondly, That in this knack of making Sacraments, Christians have taken a greater Liberty than they can well justify. First, In forging Sacraments, more than God (for ought doth or can appear) did ever intend. And, Secondly, In adding to the Sacraments instituted of God, many Formalitys and ceremonial Circumstances, upon no warrant but their own : which Circumstances, by long use, begat in the Minds of Men a Conceit, that they were essential Parts of that to which indeed they were but appendant; and that only by the Device of some who practis'd a Power in the Church more than was convenient.

Thus much for the first common Mistake.

The second is worse than it : You see that both Parts agreed in the acknowledgment of the real Presence of the Body of Christ in the Eucharist, tho they differ in the manner of his Presence, and Application of himself to the Receiver; tho the Protestant Disputant seems to have gone a little beyond his Leader. Had he express'd himself in the point of Bread and Wine, what became of it, whether it remain'd in its proper nature yea or no, I cou'd the better have fathom'd him. Now these Words of

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his, that the Bread and Wine after Consecration are truly and really the Body of Christ, howsoever they are supply'd and allay'd with that Clause, not after a carnal but after a spiritual manner, yet still remain too crude and raw, and betray the Speaker for a *Lutheran* at least, if not for a Favourer of the Church of *Rome*. For as for that Phrase, *of a spiritual manner*, which seems to give Season and Moderation to his Conclusion, it can yield him but small Relief: For first, to say the Flesh of Christ is in the Bread, but not after a carnal manner, is but the same nonsense which the Divines of *Rome* put upon us on the like occasion, when telling us, that the Blood of Christ is really sacrific'd and shed in the Sacrament, they add by way of Gloss, that it is done *incrumente*, unbloodily; by the like Analogy they may tell us, if they please, that the Body of Christ is there incorporated unbodily: Flesh not carnally may pass the Press jointly the next Edition of the Book of Bulls. Again, in another respect, that Clause, *of a spiritual manner*, doth your Protestant Disputer but little Service, if any at all; for the Catholick Disputant contriving with himself how to seat the Body of God in the Eucharist, as may be most for his Ease, tells us, that he is there as Spirits and glorify'd Bodys (which *St. Paul* calls spiritual) are in the Places they possess. So then the one tells you the Body of Christ is there really, but spiritually; the other, that he is there really, but as a Spirit in a Place. And what now, I pray you, is the difference between them? By the way, in the Passage you may see what account to make of your Catholick Disputer. *Aristotle*, and with him

common Sense tells us thus much, *That he that compares two Bodys together, must know them both.* Doth this Gentleman know any thing concerning the Site and Locality of Spirits, and Bodys glorify'd? If he doth, let him do us the Courtesy as to shew us, at what Price he purchas'd that degree of Knowledg, that so we may try our Credit, and see if we can buy it at the same rate. *Tertius e Cælo cecidit Cato?* Is he like a second *Paul*, lately descended out of the third Heavens, and there hath made us the Discovery? for by what other means he cou'd attain to that Knowledg, my Dulness cannot suggest. But if he doth not know (as indeed he neither doth nor can, for there is no means left to make Discovery that way) then with what congruity can he tell us that the Body of Christ is in the Bread, as Spirits and glorify'd Bodys are in their places, if he know not what manner of Location and Site, Spirits and glorify'd Bodys have? I shall not need to prompt your Discretion thus far, as that you ought not to make Daintys of such fruitless and desperate Disputers; who, as the Apostle notes, thrust themselves into things they have not seen, and upon a false shew of Knowledg abuse easy Hearers, and of things they know not, adventure to speak they know not what.

To return then, and consider a little more of this second Mistake common to both your Disputants, I will deal as favorably as I can with your Protestant Disputer; for tho I think he mistakes himself (for I know no Protestant that teacheth, that the common Bread, after the word spoken, is really made the Body of Christ) yet he might well take occasion thus to err out of some Protestant Writings: For

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generally the Reform'd Divines do fallſly report that Holy Action, whether you regard the Eſſence or Uſe thereof.

For firſt, in regard of the Eſſence, ſome Proteſtants, and that of chief note, ſtick not to ſay, That the words of Conſecration are not a mere Trope; and from hence it muſt needs follow, that in ſome ſenſe they muſt needs be taken literally, which is enough to plead Authority for the Gentleman's Error. But that which they preach concerning a real Preſence and Participation of Chriſt's Body in the Sacrament, they expound not by a Suppoſal that the Bread becomes God's Body, but that together with the Sacramental Elements, there is convey'd into the Soul of the worthy Receiver, the very Body and Blood of God, but after a ſecret, ineffable and wonderful manner. From hence, as I take it, have proceeded theſe crude Speeches of the Learned of the Reform'd Parts, ſome dead, ſome living, wherein they take upon them to aſſure the Divines of *Rome*, that we acknowledg a Real Preſence as well as they; but for the manner how, *con*, or *trans*, or *ſub*, or *in*, ἐνέχουσιν, we play the Scepticks, and determine not. This Conceit, beſides the Falſhood of it, is a mere Novelty; neither is it to be found in the Books of any of the Antients, till *Martin Bucer* roſe. He out of an unſeaſonable baſhfulneſs, and fear to ſeem to recede too far from the Church of *Rome*, taught to the purpoſe now related, concerning the Doctrin of Chriſt's Preſence in the Sacrament; and from him it deſcended into the Writings of *Calvin* and *Beza*, whoſe Authority hath well-near ſpread it over the face of the Reform'd Churches. This

is an Error which, as I said, touches the Essence of that holy Action; but there are many now which touch the end and use of it, which are practis'd by the Reform'd Parts: for out of an extravagant Fancy they have of it, they abuse it to many ends, of which we may think the first Instituter (save that he was God, and knew all things) never thought of. For we make it an Arbitrator of Civil Businesses, and imploy it in ending Controversys; and for Confirmation of what we say or do, we commonly promise to take the Sacrament upon it. We teach, that it confirms our Faith in Christ; whereas indeed the receiving of it is a Sign of Faith confirm'd, and Men come to it to testify that they do believe, not to procure that they may believe: For if a Man doubt of the Truth of Christianity, think you that his Scruples wou'd be remov'd upon the receiving of the Sacrament? I wou'd it were so, we shou'd not have so many doubting Christians, who yet receive the Sacrament oft enough. We teach it to be *Viaticum morientium*, whereby we abuse many distress'd Consciences and sick Bodys, who seek for Comfort there; and finding it not, conclude from thence (I speak what I know) some Defect in their Faith. The Participation of this Sacrament to sick and weak Persons, what unseemly Events hath it occasion'd; the vomiting up of the Elements anon, upon the receipt of them; the resurg'ing the Wine into the Cup, before the Minister cou'd remove his Hand, to the interruption of the Action? Now all these Mistakes and Errors have risen upon some ungrounded and fond Practices, crept long since

(God knows how) into the Church, and as yet not sufficiently purg'd out. I will be bold to inform you what it is, which is *πρῶτον* *λεῖψος*, the main fundamental Fallacy, whence all these Abuses have sprung. There hath been a fancy of long subsistence in the Churches, that in the Communion there is something given besides Bread and Wine, of which the Numerality given, Men have not yet agreed. Some say it is the Body of God into which the Bread is transubstantiated; some say it is the same Body with which the Bread is consubstantiated; some, that the Bread remaining what it was, there passes with it to the Soul the real Body of God, in a secret unknown manner: some, that a further degree of Faith is supply'd us; others, that some degree of God's Grace, whatever it be, is exhibited, which otherwise wou'd be wanting. All which variety of Conceits must needs fall out, as having no other ground but Conjecture weakly founded. To settle you therefore in your Judgment, both of the Thing it self, and of the true Use of it, I will commend to your Consideration these few Propositions.

First, In the Communion, there is nothing given but Bread and Wine.

Secondly, The Bread and Wine are Signs indeed, but not of any thing there exhibited, but of somewhat given long since, even of Christ given for us upon the Cross sixteen hundred years ago and more.

Thirdly, Jesus Christ is eaten at the Communion Table in no Sense, neither spiritually, by virtue of any thing done there, nor really, neither metaphorically, nor literally. Indeed that which is eaten (I mean the Bread) is call'd

call'd Christ by a Metaphor; but it is eaten truly and properly.

Fourthly, The Spiritual eating of Christ is common to all places, as well as the Lord's Table.

Lastly, The Uses and Ends of the Lord's Supper can be no more than such as are mention'd in the Scriptures, and they are but two.

First, The Commemoration of the Death and Passion of the Son of God, specify'd by himself at the Institution of the Ceremony.

Secondly, To testify our Union with Christ, and Communion one with another: which end *St. Paul* hath taught us.

In these few Conclusions the whole Doctrine and Use of the Lord's Supper is fully set down; and whoso leadeth you beyond this, doth but abuse you. *Quicquid ultra queritur, non intelligitur*. The proof of these Propositions wou'd require more than the Limits of a Letter will admit of; and I see my self already to have exceeded these Bounds. I will therefore pass away to consider the second part of your Letter.

In this second Part, I wou'd you had pleas'd to have done as in the first you did; that is, not only set down the Proposition of the Catholick, but some Answer of the Protestant, by which we might have discover'd his Judgment. I might perchance have us'd the same Liberty as I have done before, namely, discover'd the Mistakes of both Partys; for I suspect that as there they did, so here they wou'd have given me Cause enough. Now I content my self barely to speak to the Question. The Question is, *Whether the Church may err in Fundamentals?* By the Church I will not trifle

as your Catholick doth, and mean only the Protestant Party, as he professeth he doth only the *Roman* Faction. But I shall understand all Factions in Christianity; All that entitle themselves to Christ, wheresoever dispers'd all the World over.

First, I answer, that every Christian may err that will: for if Men might not err wilfully, then there cou'd be no Heresy; Heresy being nothing else but wilful Error. For if we account Mistakes befalling us thro human Frailtys to be Heresys, then it will follow, that every Man since the Apostles time was an Heretick; for never yet was there any Christian, the Apostles only excepted, which did not in something concerning the Christian Faith mistake himself, either by Addition, or Omission, or Misinterpretation of something. An evident sign of this Truth you may see in this, by the Providence of God: the Writings of many learned Christians from the Spring of Christianity, have been left to Posterity; and amongst all those, scarcely any is to be found who is not confest on all hands to have mistaken some things, and those Mistakes for the most part stand upon Record by some who purposely observ'd them. Neither let this (I beseech you) beget in you a Conceit as if I meant to disgrace those whose Labours have been, and are of infinite Benefit in the Church. For if *Aristotle*, and *Aphrodiseus*, and *Galen*, and the rest of those excellent Men whom God had endu'd with extraordinary Portions of natural Knowledge, have with all thankful and ingenious Men throughout all Generations retain'd their Credit entire, notwithstanding it is acknowledg'd that they have all in many things

things swerv'd from the Truth; then, why shou'd not Christians express the same Ingenuity to those who have labour'd before us in the Exposition of the Christian Faith, and highly esteem them for their Works sake, their many Infirmitys notwithstanding? You will say, that for private Persons it is confess'd they may, and daily do err; but can Christians err by whole Shoals, by Armys meeting for Defence of the Truth in Synods and Councils, especially General, which are countenanc'd by the great Fable of all the World, the Bishop of Rome?

I answer, To say that Councils may not err, tho private Persons may, at first sight is a merry Speech; as if a Man shou'd say, That every single Soldier indeed may run away, but a whole Army cannot, especially having *Hannibal* for their Captain. And since it is confess'd, that all single Persons not only may, but do err, it will prove a very hard matter, to gather out of these a Multitude, of whom, being gather'd together, we may be secur'd they cannot err. I must for my own part confess, that Councils, and Synods, not only may and have err'd; but considering the Means how they are manag'd, it were a great marvel if they did not err: For what Men are they of whom those great Meetings do consist? Are they the best, the most learned, the most vertuous, the most likely to walk uprightly? No, the greatest, the most ambitious, and many times Men, neither of Judgment nor Learning, such are they of whom these Bodys do consist: And are these Men in common Equity likely to determine for Truth? *Qui ut in vita, sic in causis, spes quodque improbas alunt,*

alunt, as *Quintilian* speaks. Again, when such Persons are thus met, their way to proceed to conclusion, is not by weight of Reason, but by Multitude of Votes and Suffrages; as if it were a Maxim in Nature, that the greater part must needs be the better: whereas our common Experience shews, That *Nunquam ita bene agitur cum rebus humanis ut plures sint meliores*. It was never heard in any Profession, that Conclusion of Truth went by plurality of Voices, the Christian Profession only excepted; and I have often mus'd how it comes to pass, that the Way, which in all other Sciences is not able to warrant the poorest Conclusion, shou'd be thought sufficient to give Authority to Conclusions in Divinity, the Supreme Empress of Sciences. But I see what it is that is usually pleaded, and with your leave I will a little consider of it.

It is given out, that Christian Meetings have such an Assistance of God, and his blessed Spirit, that let their Persons be what they will, they may assure themselves against all possibility of mistaking; and this is that, they say, which to this way of ending Controversys, which in all other Sciences is so contemptible, gives a determining to Theological Disputes of so great Authority. And this Musick of the Spirit is so pleasing, that it hath taken the Reformed Party too: for with them likewise all things at length end in the Spirit; but with this difference, that those of *Rome* confine the Spirit to the Bishops and Councils of *Rome*, but the Protestant enlargeth this Working of the Spirit, and makes it the Director of private Meditations. I shou'd doubtless do great Injury to the Goodness of God, if I shou'd deny the

the sufficient Assistance of God to the whole World, to preserve them, both from Sin in their Actions, and damnable Errors in their Opinions; much more shou'd I do it, if I deny'd it to the Church of God: but this Assistance of God may very well be, and yet Men may fall into Sin and Errors. *St. Paul* preaching to the *Gentiles*, tells them that God was with them in so palpable a manner, that even by groping they might have found him; yet both he and we know what the *Gentiles* did. Christ has promis'd his perpetual Assistance to his Church; but hath he left any Prophecy, that the Church shou'd perpetually adhere to him? If any Man think he hath, it is his part to inform us, where this Prophecy is to be found. That matters may go well with Men, two things must concur, the Assistance of God to Men, and the Adherence of Men to God; if either of these be deficient, there will be little Good done. Now the first of these is never deficient, but the second is very often; so that the Promise of Christ's perpetual Presence made unto the Church, infers not at all any Presumption of Infallibility. As for that term of Spirit which is so much taken up, to open the danger that lurks under it, we must a little distinguish upon the Word. This term [*Spirit of God*] either signifys the third Person in the blessed Trinity, or else the wonderful Power of Miracles, of Tongues, of Healing, &c. which was given to the Apostles, and other of the Primitive Christians, at the first preaching of the Gospel: but both these Meanings are Strangers to our purpose; the Spirit of God, as it concerns the Question here in hand, signifies either something within us, or some-

something without us. Without us, it signifies the written Word, recorded in the Books of the Prophets, Apostles, and Evangelists, which are metonymically call'd the Spirit, because the Holy Ghost spake those things by their Mouths when they liv'd, and now speaks unto us by their Pens when they are dead. If you please to receive it, this alone is left as Christ's Vicar in his Absence, to give us Directions both in our Actions and Opinions; he that tells you of another Spirit in the Church to direct you in your way, may as well tell you a tale of a Puck, or a walking Spirit in the Church-yard. But that this Spirit speaking without us may be beneficial to us, *oportet aliquid intus esse*, there must be something within us, which also we call the Spirit; and this is two-fold. For either it signifies a secret Illapse, or supernatural Influence of God upon the Hearts of Men, by which he is suppos'd inwardly to incline, inform, and direct Men in their Ways and Wills, and to preserve them from Sin and Mistake: Or else it signifies that in us, which is oppos'd against the Flesh, and which denominates us spiritual Men, and by which we are said to walk according to the Spirit; that which St. Paul means, when he tells us, *The Flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the Flesh*, Rom. 7. *so that we may not do what we list*. Now of these two, the former it is which the Church seems to appeal unto in determining Controversys by way of Counsel. But to this I have little to say: *First*, Because I know not whether there be any such thing, yea or no. *Secondly*, Because Experience shews, that the Pretence of the Spirit in this sense is very dangerous, as
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being next at hand to give countenance to Imposture and Abuse: which is a thing sufficiently seen, and acknowledg'd both by the Papist and Protestant Party; as it appears by this, that tho both pretend unto it, yet both upbraid each other with the Pretence of it. But the Spirit in the second Sense, is that I contend for; and this is nothing but Reason illuminated by Revelation out of the written Word. For when the Mind and Spirit humbly conform and submit to the written Will of God, then you are properly said to have the Spirit of God, and to walk according to the Spirit, not according to the Flesh. This alone is that Spirit which preserves us from straying from the Truth: for he indeed that hath the Spirit, errs not at all; or if he do, it is with as little Hazard and Danger as may be, which is the highest point of Infallibility, which either private Persons or Churches can arrive unto. Yet wou'd I not have you to conceive, that I deny, that at this day the Holy Ghost communicates himself to any in this secret and supernatural manner, as in foregoing times he had been wont to do; indeed my own many Uncleannesses are sufficient Reasons to hinder that good Spirit to participate himself unto me, after that manner. The Holy Ghost was pleas'd to come down like a Dove; *Veniunt ad candida tecta Columbae: Accipiet nullas sordida Turris Aves.* Now it is no Reason to conclude the Holy Ghost imparts himself in this manner to none, because he hath not done that Favour unto me. But thus much I will say, that the Benefit of that sacred Influence is confin'd to those happy Souls in whom it is, and cannot extend it self to the Church

Church in publick: And if any Catholick except against you for saying so, warrant your self and me out of *Aquinas*, whose words are these, *Innititur fidei natura revelationi Apostolis & Prophetis facta, qui Canonicos Libros scripserunt, non autem Revelationi, siqua fuit, aliis Doctoribus facta.*

It being granted then, that Churches can err, it remains then in the second place to consider how far they may err. I answer for Churches, as I did before for private Persons; Churches may err in Fundamentals if they list, for they may be heretical; for Churches may be wicked, they may be Idolaters, and why then not heretical? Is Heresy a more dangerous thing than Idolatry? For whereas it is pleaded, that Churches cannot fall into Heresy, because of that Promise of our Saviour, *That the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against the Church*, it is but out of mistake of the meaning of that place; and indeed I have often mus'd how so plain a Place cou'd so long and so generally be mis-constru'd. To secure you therefore, that you be not abus'd with these Words hereafter (for they are often quoted to prove the Church's Infallibility) I shall endeavor to give you the natural meaning of them; for Πύλαι *'Adē*, the *Gates of Hell*, is an Hebraism: for in the *Hebrew* Expression, the *Gates* of a thing signifys the thing it self, as the *Gates of Sion*, *Sion* it self; and by the same proportion the *Gates of Hell* signifys *Hell* it self. Now *'Adēs*, which we english *Hell*, as in no place of Scripture it signifys Heresy, so very frequently in Scripture it signifys *Death*, or rather the *State of the Dead*, and indifferently apply'd to *Good* and *Bad*. Let us then
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take the Word in that meaning; for what greater Means can we have to warrant the signification of a Scripture-Word, than the general meaning of it in Scripture? So that when our Saviour spake these Words, he made no Promise to the Church of persevering in the Truth; but to those that did persevere in the Truth, he made a Promise of Victory against Death and Hell. And what he there says, sounds to no other purpose but this, That those who shall continue his, altho they die, yet Death shall not have the Dominion over them; but the time shall come that the Bands of Death shall be broken, and as Christ is risen, so shall they that are his rise again to Immortality. For any help therefore that this Text affords, Churches may err in Fundamentals. But to speak the Truth, I much wonder, not only how any Churches, but how any private Man, that is careful to know and follow the Truth, can err in Fundamentals: For since it is most certain, that the Scripture contains at least the fundamental Parts of Christian Faith; how is it possible that any Man, that is careful to study and believe the Scripture, shou'd be ignorant of any necessary part of his Faith? Now whether the Church of *Rome* err in Fundamentals, yea or no: To answer this, I must crave leave to use this Distinction; To err in Fundamentals, is either to be ignorant of, or deny something to be fundamental that is, or to entertain something for fundamental which is not. In the first sense, the Church of *Rome*, entertaining the Scriptures as she doth, can't possibly be ignorant of any principal part of Christian Faith; all her Error is, in entertaining in her self,

self, and obtruding upon others, a multitude of things for Fundamentals, which no way concern our Faith at all. Now how dangerous it is thus to do, except I know whether she did this willingly or wittingly, yea or no, is not easy to define: If willingly she doth it, it is certainly high and damnable Presumption; if ignorantly, I know not what Mercys God hath in store for them who sin not out of malicious Wickedness. Now concerning the Merriment newly started, I mean the requiring of a Catalogue of Fundamentals, I need to answer no more, but what *Abraham* tells the Rich Man in Hell, *Habent Moſen & Prophetas*; they have *Moſes* and the Prophets, the Apostles and the Evangelists, let them seek them there: for if they find them not there, in vain shall they seek them in all the World besides. But yet to come a little nearer to the Particulars: If the Church of *Rome* wou'd needs know what is fundamental in our Conceit, and what not; the Answer, as far as my self in Person am concern'd in the Business, shall be no other than this, Let her observe what Points they are wherein we agree with her, and let her think, if she please, that we account of them as Fundamentals, especially if they be in the Scriptures: And on the other hand, let her mark in what Points we refuse Communion with her, and let her assure her self, we esteem those as no Fundamentals. If she desire a List and Catalogue made of all those, she is at leisure enough, for ought I know, to do it her self.

Last of all, concerning the Imputation of Rebellion and Schism against Church-Authority, with which your Catholick Disputant meant

meant to affright you; all that is but merely Poudre without Shot, and can never hurt you. For since it hath been sufficiently evidenc'd unto us, that the Church of *Rome* hath adulterated the Truth of God, by mixing with it fundry Inventions of her own; it was the Conscience of our Duty to God that made us to separate: For where the Truth of God doth once suffer, there Union is Conspiracy, Authority is but Tyranny, and Churches are but Routs. And suppose we, that we mistook, and made our Separation upon Error, the Church of *Rome* being right in all her ways, tho we think otherwise, yet cou'd not this much prejudice us: For it is Schism upon wilfulness that brings danger with it; Schism upon Mistake, and Schism upon just Occasion, hath in it self little hurt, if any at all.

S I R,

I Return you more than I thought, or you expected, yet less than the Argument requir'd: If you shall favour me so much as to carefully read what I have carefully written, you shall find (at least in those Points you occasion'd me to touch upon) sufficient ground to plant your self strongly against all Discourse of the Romish Corner-Creepers, which they use for the seducing of unstable Souls. Be it much or little that I have done, I require no other reward than the Continuance of your good Affection to

Your Servant, whom you know.

*Concerning the Power of the Keys,
and Auricular Confession.*

IN opening the Point concerning the Doctrine of the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, I will follow those Lines, that Track, which your self hath been pleas'd to set me. Yet first, e'er I come to your Particulars, I will discover, as far as generality will give me leave, what it is which we intend, when we use this Phrase of Speech. At the first appearance it is plain, the Form of Words is not proper, but metaphorical. Now some Truth there is in that which you learnt in the Books of your Minority, from your *Aristotle*, πᾶν ἄσπερ τὸ πρῶτα μεταφορὰν λεγόμενον; and indeed cou'd we but once agree what it is which that Metaphor doth intimate, the greatest part of the Dispute were at an end. The natural way to discover this, is to see what the Use of Keys, properly taken, is; and after that, what Means they are, which in our Endeavours to attain to the Kingdom of Heaven, have something proportionable to the Use of Keys: and this being once discover'd, there can remain no Question what are the Keys.

Now nothing is more known, than that the only Use of Keys is to open and shut, to admit us unto, or exclude us from the possession
of

of what we seek. Now since the Kingdom of Heaven is compar'd to a House, from which all the Sons of *Adam* by nature are excluded; whatsoever then it is that gives us way, that removes all Obstacles which hinder us from entrance of that House, that certainly must be understood by the name of Keys. Now all these Means, or whatsoever else it is which doth further us towards the possessing our selves of Eternal Life, they were all laid down in the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, committed by him fully and first of all to the Dispensation of the blessed Apostles, to be reported by them, or their means, all the World over. So that I think I may safely lay thus much for the first Ground of the Question betwixt your self and me, *Claves Regni Cælorum sunt Doctrina Evangelii.*

Now since Keys are nothing without some Hand to manage them, we must in the second place discover into whose hands they are committed. And for this purpose, first of all, it must not be deny'd, that principally and properly (I might well enough add only, if I listed, but that I spare you) the Hand of God it is, that manages and applys these Keys: For of God and Christ it is written, *He hath the Keys, he opens, and no Man shuts; he shuts, and no Man opens.* Yet since it hath pleas'd God to use the Ministry of Men, to the saving of Men, and bringing them into the Kingdom of Heaven; in a secondary sense the Keys of that Kingdom are said to be put into the hands of Men: Inasmuch as it hath pleas'd the Wisdom of God, not to use these Keys, at least as far as concerns the beneficial and opening Part, some Act of Man not first premis'd.

For since that Faith in Jesus Christ is the Sum of the Doctrine of the Gospel, and Faith cometh not but by Hearing, and Hearing cometh not but by Preaching, and Preaching is the Act of Men alone (for God imployes not Angels in that behalf) it appears that this Preaching, or Manifestation of the Doctrine of the Gospel not perform'd, the Keys must needs be unprofitable. By the Manifestation of the Gospel of God, I mean not only the Labour of the Lip, in expounding, praying, reproving, or the like, but the Administration of Sacraments, the acting (if any thing beyond this is to be acted) whatsoever the Manifestation of the Gospel requireth. So that I think I may set down for a second Ground, towards the settling of the Point in question, thus much, That the managing or application of the Keys, so far forth as Men are intrusted with them, is *The Manifestation of the Doctrine of the Gospel*. Thus far have we open'd in general the Substance of the Keys, and the Use of them. I come now to your Querys.

First, You ask of the Quality of the Apostles receiving this Power, whether they had it as Judges *Authoritative*, or as Messengers *Declarative*, only to propound or denounce? You manifest your self for the former, and Reasons you bring, such as they be. Your Reasons I shall consider in their place, but I must first tell you that you ask amiss; for your Question is concerning the whole Power of the Keys, but you answer only of a part, that is, of Sacramental Absolution only, as if all the Power of the Keys resided there. So that here you use the Fallacy *plurium Interrogationum*; and I might well grant you, that indeed
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that part were *Judicative*, but yet contend that all the rest were only *Declarative*. To reduce you therefore, I must do with you as Physicians in some cases deal with their Patients; e'er I can come to purge the Humour you are sick of, I must a little prepare you. The Power of the Keys is express'd by the Learned in three Yokes, or Pairs of Words.

1. *To remit, and to retain.*
2. *To loose, and to bind.*
3. *To open, and to shut.*

On the one side, to *remit*, to *loose*, to *open*, which is the one half of the Power, agree in one, and signify the same thing; so do the other three, to *retain*, to *bind*, to *shut*, which contain the other half. To your Question then, whether the Power of the Keys be declarative only, I answer first: For this latter part or half, it is merely declarative, neither can it be otherwise; which that you may see with your eyes, I must request you to observe, That all shutting of the Kingdom of Heaven is either common to all, or casual, befalling only some. The common Exclusion is that State of Nature, wherein we all are involv'd, as we spring from the first *Adam*: The second Exclusion is that which befalls Christians relapsing into Sin. The first shutting was at the Fall, and was then prefigur'd unto us, by the barring up of the Way unto the Tree of Life. What active, what judiciary part can any Minister of the Gospel have here? All that the Apostles cou'd do here, was but to open to Men this their Misery; a thing, before the Death of our Saviour, either very sparingly, or not at all reveal'd. Of this therefore you must needs quit your hands; and so you must

of the other, I mean Exclusion upon Casualty and Relapse. For when a Man converted to Christianity, falleth eftsoons into some mortal Sin, doth the Gate of Heaven stand open to him, till he fall upon some curs'd Priest, that us'd his Key to shut it ?

There are in the World a kind of deceitful Locks with sliding Bolts ; I have seen my self and others much deceiv'd by them, when the Doors have fallen at our heels, and lockt us out when we intended no such thing. Sir, Heaven-door hath a sliding Lock ; upon occasion of mortal Sin, it will shut without any use of a Key.

Perchance I do not well, *παρεῖν ἐν μὴ παρῶσι* ; yet the sober Meaning of what I have spoken merrily is but this, That either you must make the Ministry of the Gospel only Declarative, or else it will follow that every impenitent Relapser, that hath the good fortune to escape the Priest's being privy to his Sin, is like to find Heaven open at the last. So then it is apparent, that notwithstanding your heaping up of Interrogatorys, and your pressing of *Ligaveritis & vos*, and telling me what I never knew, that *Solvere* and *Ligare* be Actives ; yet in this part of our Power, all your Activity is lost, and there remains nothing for you but to report upon good evidence, what you find done by your Betters to your hand.

Half your Jurisdiction then is fallen ; and if I had no other Medium but this, I might with good probability conclude against you for the other part. For if the one half, made in the same Form, in the like Phrase and Garb of Speech, yet enforceth no more but Declaration and Denouncing : Then why shou'd you think the

the other half (which in all likelihood is homogeneous to the former) to be more? Nay, there is far more natural Equity that you shou'd be here only Declarative than in the other. Politicians tell us, That it is Wisdom for Princes, who desire to gain the Love of their Subjects, to administer themselves all Favors and Graces, but to leave Actions of Justice and Harshness to be perform'd by others.

Sir, No Prince can be so ambitious of the Love of his Subjects, as God is of the Love of Mankind: Why then shou'd I think him so ill a Politician, as to make himself the Administrator of the rough, unpleasing, Love-killing Offices of *Binding, Shutting, Retaining*; and then pass over to the Priest the Dispensation of the fair, well-spoken, ingratiating Offices of *Remitting, Loosing, and Opening*? But I will leave this kind of Topick and Dialectical arguing, because you are a Pretender to convincing Reasons; I will directly enter even upon that part of your Power of *Opening and Remitting*, being the other part of your Territory, and by main strength take all Activity from you there too. Give me leave to ask you one Question; you may very well favour me so far, for you have ask'd me very many.

The Conversion of a Sinner, is it an Act of the Keys, yea or no?

By your Principles it is not; for you make the Power of the Keys to be Judiciary, and therefore the Conversion of an Infidel pertains not to them. The Church of Rome will help you with a Medium to make this Argument good. *Do we not judg those that are within? For those that are without, God shall judg, saith Paul*: Whence she infers, That a converted

Infidel, not yet admitted to the Church, is a stranger to the Judiciary Power of the Keys; but being once admitted into the Church, he is now become the Church's Subject, and so fit matter for the Priest to work on upon his next Relapse. What think you of this Reason? Do you take it to be good? Take heed, or else it will give you a deadly stripe. For the Conversion of an Infidel, out of question is a most proper Act of the Keys. For since the opening of the Kingdom of Heaven is confess'd to belong to the Keys; and Heaven, which was shut against the Infidel in time of his Infidelity, upon his Conversion is acknowledg'd to be open'd to him; certainly whoever converted him us'd the Keys, or else he must pretend to have either a Pick-lock, or the Herb *Lunaria*, which, they say, makes Locks fall off from Doors, and the Fetters from Horses Heels. If then the Conversion of a Sinner be an Act of the Keys, and by the Argument of the Church of *Rome* it be not Judiciary, it follows then, that all Acts of the Keys are not Judiciary; and if not Judiciary, then Declarative only: for betwixt these two I know no Mean.

But because to dispute against a Man out of his own Principles, which perchance are false (for this we know oft falls out, that by the power of Syllogisms Men may and do draw true Conclusions from false Premises) because, I say, thus to do, in the Judgment of *Aristotle*, leaves a Man *πεπαισμενὸν μὲν ὡφελημένον δὲ ἔ*; and I am willing not only to persuade you, but to better you; I will draw the little which remains to be said in this Point, from other places.

First, In all the Apostles Practice in converting *Jews* and *Gentiles*, find you any thing like unto the Act of any Judiciary Power? They neither did nor cou'd use any such thing. That they did not, appears by *Philip*, who having catechis'd the Eunuch, and finding him desirous of Baptism, immediately, upon Profession of his Faith, admitted him into the Church. That they neither did nor cou'd, appears by *Peter* and the rest of the Apostles in the *Acts*, who cou'd never in the space of an Afternoon, being none but themselves, have converted three thousand Souls, had they taken any such way, as you seem to misfancy. Again, imagine with your self all Circumstances you can, which are of force to make a Power Judiciary; apply them all to the Practice of the Apostles, in the Conversion of Infidels: and if you find any one of them agree to that Action, let me be challeng'd upon it, and be thought to have abus'd you with a Fallacy.

To conclude then, since your *Ligaveritis*, which is the one half of your pretended Jurisdiction, pretends to nothing above Declarative: And since your *Solveritis*, in so great an Act as is the Conversion of Infidels, lays claim to no more; what Act of the Power of the Keys is it, wherein we may conceive Hope of finding any thing Active or Judiciary? I see what you will say; there yet remains a Part, you think, wherein you have hope to speed, and that is the reconciling of relapsing Christians. As you fancy, that in every sinning Christian, there is a Duty binding him to repair and lay his Sin open to the Minister of the Gospel, and in him a Power to consider of the Sins of such as repair unto him, to weigh
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Particulars, to consider Circumstances and Occasions, and according to true Judgment, either upon Penance impos'd to absolve Sin (which you call remitting of the Sin) or to withhold him for a time from participation of Holy Dutys with Catholick Christians, which you call retaining of Sins, supposing that God doth the like in Heaven: as it is written, *What you bind in Earth, is bound in Heaven; and what you loose in Earth, is loos'd in Heaven.* Now the Rock on which you labour to found so extravagant a Conceit, is no other than the Words which I have quoted out of Scripture. You press earnestly the *Ligaveritis & vos*, all which can yield you small Relief: for if they help you not at all in those weighty Parts of the Power of the Keys; which but now were laid before you; by what Analogy can you expect they shou'd afford you any Assistance here? As is *Ligare*, so is *Solvere*; as is the Conversion of an Infidel, so is the reconciling of a relapsing Christian, for any thing you can make appear. Either all is *Declarativè*, which is very possible, and in many Cases necessary; or all *Judicativè*, which in some Cases is impossible, and in none necessary: so that to fit the Scripture to your Fancy, you are constrain'd to distract and rend it without any Warrant at all. But you have found out in the Text a stronger Argument against the declarative Power, I contend for: You espy an *Insufflavir*, a great, a solemn, and unwonted Ceremony, undoubtedly concluding some greater matter than a poor Power declarative: *What? did our serious Master thus spend his Breath to no purpose, and like a Hocus Pocus with so much shew act us a solemn nothing?* I pray, whose words are these? I shou'd have thought them

them to have been *Porphiry's*, or *Julian's* (but that I know your hand) for you subscrib'd not your Name to your Letters: Ἀρίστα ἀκρίβεια λέ-
λοιχα δάμνα κτηνώδους: They are the Words of your *Pindarus*, on an occasion not unlike this.

Sir, you have no Skill to judg or set a price upon so Divine an Act: He lost not his Breath when he spent his *Insufflavit*; he open'd their Wits, that they might understand the Scripture; he reveal'd to them the Mysterys of Jesus Christ, dying and rising again for the World's Salvation, the greatest News ever reported in the World, and till then conceal'd; he commanded them to be the first Bringers of this good News; and that they might the more undauntedly perform their Charge, he endow'd them with Infallibility, with infinite Constancy and Fortitude, with Power of working such Wonders as none could do unless God were with them. *Appello Conscientiam tuam*: Were those things such nothings, that they deserve to be thus jeer'd? But that befalls you which befalls the Stares that dwell in the Steeple, who fear not the Bells, because they hear them every day. These wonderful Benefits of God have every day sounded in your Ears, and the frequency of them hath taught you to forget your Reverence to them. Yet all this *Insufflavit*, this Ceremony, was for no other end but to further a Declarative Power; their undaunted Fortitude, their Power of miracling, their Infallibility did but add Countenance and Strength to their Declarative Power, by which they went up and down the World, to manifest the good Tidings of Salvation. So that even these which serv'd thus to set off the Gospel, were nothing else but means

means of the better Manifestation of it ; therefore may they very well pass, if not amongst the Keys, yet amongst the necessary Wards : Whereas your Fancy of an Active or Judicative Power in the Priest, concurring with God in reconciling relapsing Christians, is neither one nor other, but is indeed like unto the Work of some deceitful Smith, who, the better to countenance and grace his Work, adds to his Key superfluous and idle Wards, which in the opening of the Lock, are of no use at all.

To your second Query, Whether the Keys were confin'd to the Apostles only ? The Answer is in no case hard to give, it may perchance in some case be dangerous ; for there is a Generation of Men in the World (the Clergy they call them) who impropriate the Keys unto themselves, and wou'd be very angry to understand, that others from themselves shou'd claim a Right unto them. To your Question then, no doubt but originally none receiv'd the Keys from the Mouth of our Saviour, but the Apostles only ; none did nor ever cou'd manage them with that Authority and Splendor as the Apostles did, who were above all most amply furnish'd with all things fitting so great a Work. For whereas you seem to intimate, that the preaching Mission was communicated to others, as the seventy two Disciples, as well as the Apostles ; you do but mistake yourself, if you conceive that the Keys of the Gospel were any way committed to them : for concerning the Mysterys of Jesus Christ, and him crucify'd for the Sins of the World (wherein indeed the opening of the Kingdom of Heaven did consist) they receiv'd it not, they knew it not. To be the prime Reporters

ters of this, was an Honour imparted only to the Apostles: Yet were they not so imparted, as that they shou'd be confin'd to them. Every one that heard and receiv'd the Light of the saving Doctrine from them, so far forth as he had Understanding in the ways of Life, had now the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven committed to his power, both for his own and others use. Every one, of what state or condition soever, that hath any occasion offer'd him to serve another in the ways of Life, Clergy or Lay, Male or Female, whatever he be, hath these Keys, not only for himself, but for the benefit of others. For if natural Goodness teach every Man, *Lumen de Lumine, Erranti comiter monstrare viam*, &c. then how much more doth Christian Goodness require of every one, to his Ability, to be a Light to those who sit in Darkeness, and direct their steps, who most dangerously mistake their way? To save a Soul, every Man is a Priest. To whom, I pray you, is that said in *Leviticus*; *Thou shalt not see thy Brother sin, but thou shalt reprove, and save thy Brother*? And if the Law binds a Man, when he saw his Enemy's Cattel to stray, to put them into their way, how much more doth it oblige him to do the like for the Man himself? See you not how the whole World conspires with me in the same Opinion? Doth not every Father teach his Son, every Master his Servant, every Man his Friend? How many of the Laity in this Age, and from time to time in all Ages, have by writing for the publick Good propagated the Gospel of Christ, as if some secret Instinct of Nature had put into Mens Minds thus to do?

I shame to dwell so long upon so plain a Theme; yet because I feel your pulse, and perceive what it is that troubles you, I must say something to an Objection, which I know you make. You conceive that forthwith upon this which I have said, must needs follow some great Confusion of Estates and Degrees; the Laity will straitway get up into our Pulpits, we shall lose our Credit, and the Adoration which the simple sort do yield us is in danger to be lost.

Sir, Fear you not, the sufficient and able of the Clergy will reap no Discountenance, but Honour by this: For he that knows how to do well himself, will most willingly approve what is well done by another. It is extreme Poverty of Mind to ground your Reputation upon another Man's Ignorance, and to secure your self you do well, because you perceive perchance that none can judg how ill you do. Be not angry then to see others join with you in part of your Charge. *I wou'd all the Lord's People did preach*, and that every Man did think himself bound to discharge a part of the common Good; and make account that the Care of other Mens Souls concern'd him as well as of his own. When the Apostles took order to ordain some, upon whom the publick Burden of preaching the Gospel shou'd lie, it was not their purpose to impropriate the thing to those Persons alone; but knowing that what was left to the Care of all, was commonly worst lookt unto, in Wise and most Christian Care, they design'd some, whose Duty it shou'd be to wait upon the Gospel alone, the better to preserve the Profession to the World's end. It hath been the Wisdom of those, who have
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taken care of the Propagation of Arts and Sciences, not only to appoint Means, that multitudes shou'd study and make Profession privately, but that some shou'd be constituted publick Professors to teach *è Cathedra*, that so all might know to whom to repair, in the Doubts incident to their Facultys; and this hath been thought a sovereign way to preserve Sciences. Sir, we are the publick Professors of Christianity, we speak *è Cathedra*, which none can do, but such as are ordain'd. Let the private Profession and Practice of Christianity improve it self ever so much, yet the Honour of the publick Professor, so he deserve his place, can never impair. It grieves me to stand so long upon so plain, so unwelcom a Lesson; I will ease my self and you, and reflect upon your third Query.

In the third place, you require to know what Necessity or what Convenience there is of Confession: You mean, I think, that Confession which is as foolishly as commonly call'd Sacramental, for it hath nothing of a Sacrament in it. Did I know your mind a little more in particular, what Form of Confession you speak of, whether as it is us'd in the Church of *Rome*, or in some refin'd Guise, as it seems some wou'd, who have of late call'd for it in the Church of *England*; I shou'd speak peradventure more apolitely to what you desire. But since you have propos'd Confession only in a generality, my Answer shall be in like manner. And,

First of all, Confession of Sins is a thing not only convenient, but unavoidably necessary to Salvation, without which none shall ever see God, And thus far, I suppose, all Christians do agree. The main Difference is in the manner

ner of practising it; the Question being, What Partys are to be interested in it? Natural Equity informeth us, that unto every Party, justly offended, Satisfaction some way or other is due.

The first Party wrong'd in every Offence, is God, against whose Honour and expresse Command every Sin is committed. To him therefore, in the first place, Satisfaction is due by Submission and Acknowledgment, since there remains no other way of Composition with God. But there are some Sins committed against God, some committed against God and Men. In the former, it is sufficient if we pacify God alone; in the latter, our Neighbour, against whom we have trespass'd, must receive Satisfaction for the wrong done him, at least if it be in the power of the Trespasser. Your Primmer of *Sarum* will tell you, *That not to make restitution, if you be able, and not to pardon, unavoidably exclude from the Kingdom of Heaven.* Now might the Doctrine of Confession and Acknowledgment in case of Offence given, have been permitted to run fair and clear, as it descends from God and good Reason, the first Fountains of it; there needed no more to be said in this Argument, than I have already told you. But I know not what intempestive foolish Ambition hath troubl'd the stream; and it hath pass'd now for a long time (till the Reformation alter'd it) for a general Doctrine in the Church, That in all kind of Sins, whether against God or our Neighbour, there can be no Reconciliation betwixt the Partys offending and offended, but by Interposition of a Priest; a thing utterly besides all Reason and common Sense, that you shou'd
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open your private Imperfections to one whom they concern not (for it is granted, that all Partys concern'd in an Offence must have reason at the hands of the Offender) and who can no ways help you: for he that is conscientious of his Sin (and without Trouble of Conscience I think none wou'd ever repair to his Confessor) knows very well, that there is no Sin so great, but upon submission God both can and will pardon it; and none so small, but Pardon for it must be sought, or else he hath been ill catechis'd. And more than this, what can any Priest tell him? Your *Pliny* somewhere tells you, *That he that is stricken by a Scorpion, if he go immediately; and whisper it into the Ear of an As, shall find himself immediately eas'd.* That Sin is a Scorpion, and bites deadly, I have always believ'd; but that to cure the Bite of it, it was a sovereign Remedy to whisper it into the Ear of an [] a Priest, I do as well believe as I do that of *Pliny*. The Patrons of this Fancy, for defect of Reason and common Congruity, are fain to betake themselves to Scripture; and the Mischief is, there is there no direct Text for it, and therefore they are constrain'd to help themselves with a mere conjectural Consequence: For since it is taken for certain, that there is a power to remit and to retain Sins, how shall they who have this power given them know how fit it is to remit or to retain a Sin, except they know the Sin? and know it they cannot but by Confession. For answer to this,

Nat. Hist.
l. 28. c. 10.

First, We have found and prov'd, That the Words of Scripture must receive such a Sense, as from whence no such Consequence can be infer'd.

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Secondly,

Secondly, We have endeavour'd to prove, that the Dispensation or Application of the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven (being nothing else but the Duty of saving Souls) is a Duty, which *pro Occasione oblata*, lies upon every Christian. Which if it be true (as in good Faith I think it) and the Clergy perceive it, I think they wou'd never go about to urge that Text, altho we should yield it them in their own meaning. For they must needs see, that it follows that you may as well make your Muletter (if you have one) your Confessor, as your Parish-Priest. Tell me in good earnest, if you can, out of what good Intent can this Desire to know another Man's Sin, which concerns you not, proceed? Is it to teach him that it is a Sin? He knew that, or else he had never repair'd to you to confess it. Is it to tell him that he is to repent, to restore, to pray, to give Alms, &c? All this he knew, or else he has had his breeding under an evil Clergy. Yea, but how shall the Physician cure the Disease, if he know it not? Suppose all Diseases had one Remedy (as all Spiritual Diseases have) what matters it, if the Patient be sick, to know whether it be an Ague, or the Meazles, or the Pleurisy, since one Potion cures them all? Yea, but if he know not the Particulars, how shall he judg of the Quantity of the Doses? for the same Disease upon sundry Circumstances may require *Majus* or *Minus* in the Physick. This is the poorest Scruple of a thousand; for in the Regimen of Patients spiritually sick, there can be but one mistake, that is, if you give too little. Be sure you give enough, and teach your Patients to think no Sin to be little (which in Men spiritually

sick is *Error saluberrimus*) and you can never err. For natural Physick is only Physick, but spiritual Physick is both Physick and Diet, and may be indifferently administer'd both to the Sick and the Sound, Repentance perchance only excepted, of which upon occasion assure yourself you can hardly take too much. What reason now can you give me, why you shou'd desire to dive into any Man's Breast, & *scire Secreta Domus*? except it be that which follows in the next Verse, *inde timeri*, as I must confess, I suspect it is. The truth is, some mistaken Customs of the antient Church, the Craft and Power of the Clergy, the Simplicity and Ignorance of the Laity; these begat the *Tragelaphus*, of which we now speak. It may be you take the Practice of the antient Church, and the Point of Excommunication, to make somewhat for you. When those Cards shall come to be play'd (tho that of Church-Custom is not greatly material, which way soever it looks) I believe you will not find the Game you look for. Indeed I was once minded to have consider'd something of that; but I think you look for a Letter, not for a Book, and I perceive my self already to have gone beyond the compass of a Letter. Another Parly therefore if you please, shall put an end to those and other Scruples, if any do arise. And for the present give, I pray you, a little respite unto

From my Study, this 8th
Day of March, 1637.

Yours,

J. H.

*Concerning Schism and Schismaticks, and
the original Causes of all Schism.*

HERESY and *Schism*, as they are in common use, are two Theological *rogues* or *Scare-Crows*, which they who uphold a Party in Religion use to fright away such, as making Inquiry into it, are ready to relinquish and oppose it, if it appear either erroneous or suspicious. For as *Plutarch* reports of a Painter, who having unskilfully painted a Cock, chas'd away all Cocks and Hens, that so the Imperfection of his Art might not appear by comparison with Nature; so Men willing for ends to admit of no Fancy but their own, endeavour to hinder an Inquiry into it by way of comparison of somewhat with it, peradventure truer, that so the Deformity of their own might not appear. But howsoever in the common manage, *Heresy* and *Schism* are but ridiculous Terms, yet the things in themselves are of very considerable moment, the one offending against Truth, the other against Charity; and therefore both deadly, where they are not by Imputation, but in Deed.

It is then a matter of no small Importance, truly to descry the Nature of them, that so they may fear who are guilty of them, and
they

they on the contrary strengthen themselves, who thro the Iniquity of Men and Times are injuriously charg'd with them.

Schism (for of *Herefy* we shall not now treat, except it be by accident, and that by occasion of a general Mistake, spread throout all the Writings of the Antients, in which their Names are familiarly confounded) *Schism*, I say, upon the very Sound of the word imports Division: *Division* is not but where *Communion* is, or ought to be. Now *Communion* is the Strength and Ground of all Society, whether *Sacred* or *Civil*: Whosoever therefore they be, that offend against this common Society and Friendliness of Men, and cause Separation and Breach among them, if it be in Civil Occasions, are guilty of Sedition and Rebellion; if it be by occasion of Ecclesiastical Difference, they are guilty of Schism: so that Schism is an Ecclesiastical Sedition, as Sedition is a Lay-Schism. Yet the great Benefit of Communion notwithstanding, in regard of divers Distempers Men are subject to, Dissension and Disunion are often necessary: for when either false or uncertain Conclusions are obtruded for Truth, and Acts either unlawful, or ministring just Scruple, are requir'd of us to be perform'd; in these Cases, Consent were Conspiracy, and open Contestation is not Faction or Schism, but due Christian Animosity.

For the further opening therefore of the Nature of Schism, something must be added by way of Difference to distinguish it from necessary Separation; and that is, that the Causes, upon which Division is attempted, proceed not from Passion or Distemper, or from Ambition or Avarice, or such other ends as human Folly

is apt to pursue; but from well-weigh'd and necessary Reasons, and that, when all other means having been try'd, nothing will serve to save us from Guilt of Conscience but open Separation. So that Schism, if we wou'd define it, is nothing else but an unnecessary Separation of Christians from that part of the visible Church, of which they were once Members. Now as in Mutinys and Civil Dissensions there are two Attendants in ordinary belonging to 'em; one the choice of one Elector, or Guide, in place of the General or ordinary Governor, to rule and guide; the other the appointing of some publick Place or Rendezvous, where publick Meetings must be celebrated: So in Church-Dissensions and Quarrels two Appurtenances there are which serve to make a Schism compleat.

First, The choice of a Bishop in opposition to the former (a thing very frequent among the Antients, and which many times was both the Cause and Effect of Schism.)

Secondly, The erecting of a new Church and Oratory, for the dividing Party to meet in publickly. For till this be done, the Schism is but yet in the Womb.

In that late famous Controversy in *Holland*, *De Prædestinatione & Auxiliis*, as long as the disagreeing Partys went no further than Disputes and Pen-Combats, the Schism was all that while unhatch'd: but as soon as one Party swept an old Cloyster, and by a pretty Art suddenly made it a Church, by putting a new Pulpit in it, for the separating Party there to meet; now what before was a Controversy, became a formal Schism. To know no more than this, if you take it to be true, had

had been enough to direct how you are to judge, and what to think of Schism and Schismatics: yet because in the Antients (by whom many Men are more affrighted than hurt) much is said, and many fearful Dooms are pronounc'd in this Case, will we descend a little to consider of Schisms, as it were by way of Story; and that partly further to open that which we have said in general, by instancing in Particulars; and partly to disabuse those who, reverencing Antiquity more than needs, have suffer'd themselves to be scar'd with imputation of Schism, above due measure. For what the Antients spake by way of Censure of Schism in general, is most true: for they saw (and it is no great matter to see so much) that unadvisedly and upon fancy to break the Knot of Union betwixt Man and Man (especially among Christians, upon whom, above all other kind of Men, the Tie of Love and Communion doth most especially rest) was a Crime hardly pardonable, and that nothing absolves a Man from the Guilt of it, but true and unpretended Conscience; yet when they came to pronounce of Schisms in particular (whether it were because of their own Interests, or that they saw not the Truth, or for what other Cause, God only doth know) their Judgments many times (to speak most gently) are justly to be suspected: Which that you may see, we will range all Schism into two Ranks.

For there is a Schism, in which only one Party is the Schismatick; for where Cause of Schism is necessary, there not he that separates, but he that occasions the Separation is the Schismatick.

Secondly, There is a Schism in which both Partys are the Schismaticks; for where the occasion of Separation is unnecessary, neither side can be excus'd from the Guilt of Schism.

But you will ask, who shall be the Judge what is necessary? Indeed that is a Question, which hath been often made, but I think scarcely ever truly answer'd; not because it is a Point of great Depth or Difficulty truly to assail it, but because the true Solution carries Fire in the Tail of it; for it bringeth with it a piece of Doctrine which is seldom pleasing to Superiours. To you for the present this shall suffice. If so be you be *Animo Defæcato*, if you have clear'd your self from Froth and Grounds; if neither Sloth, nor Fears, nor Ambition, nor any tempting Spirits of that nature abuse you (for these and such as these are the true Impediments why both that and other Questions of the like danger are not truly answer'd) If all this be, and yet you see not how to frame your Resolution, and settle your self for that Doubt; I will say no more of you than was said of *Papias*, *S. John's* own Scholar, you are *ἀνὴρ μίαντος ἔργου*, your Abilitys are not so good as I presum'd.

But to go on with what I intended, and from which that interloping Question diverted me: that you may the better judge of the Nature of Schisms by their Occasions, you shall find that all Schisms have crept into the Church by one of these three ways; Either upon Matter of Fact, or Matter of Opinion, or Point of Ambition. For the first: I call that Matter of Fact, when something is requir'd to be done by us, which either we know, or strongly suspect to be unlawful. So the

the first notable Schism, of which we read, in the Church, contain'd in it matter of Fact: For it being upon Error taken for necessary, that an *Easter* must be kept; and upon worse than Error, if I may so speak (for it was no less than a Point of Judaism forc'd upon the Church) upon worse than Error, I say, thought further necessary, that the ground for the time of our keeping that Feast, must be the Rule left by *Moses* to the *Jews*; there arose a stout Question, Whether we were to celebrate with the *Jews* on the fourteenth Moon, or the Sunday following? This Matter, tho most unnecessary, most vain, yet caus'd as great a Combustion as ever was in the Church; the *West* separating and refusing Communion with the *East* for many years together. In this fantastical Hurry, I can't see but all the World were Schismaticks: neither can any thing excuse 'em from that Imputation, excepting only this, that we charitably suppose that all Partys out of Conscience did what they did. A thing which besel them thro the Ignorance of their Guides (for I will not say their Malice) and that thro the just Judgment of God; because thro Sloth and blind Obedience, Men examin'd not the things which they were taught, but like Beasts of Burden patiently couch'd down, and indifferently underwent whatsoever their Superiors laid upon them. By the way, by this you may plainly see the Danger of our Appeal unto Antiquity, for Resolution in controverted Points of Faith, and how small Relief we are to expect from thence: For if the Discretion of the chiefest Guides and Directors of the Church, did in a Point so trivial, so in-

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considerable, so mainly fail them, as not to see the Truth in a Subject, wherein it is the greatest marvel how they cou'd avoid the Sight of it; Can we, without imputation of extreme Grossness and Folly, think so poor-spirited Persons competent Judges of the Questions now on foot betwixt the Churches? Pardon me, I know not what Temptation drew that Note from me.

The next Schism, which had in it matter of Fact, is that of the *Donatist*; who was persuaded (at least so he pretended) that it was unlawful to converse or communicate in holy Dutys with Men stain'd with any notorious Sin (For however *Austin* and others do specify only the *Thurificati* & *Traditores*, and *Libellatici*, and the like, as if he separated only from those whom he found to be such; yet by necessary proportion, he must refer to all notorious Sinners.) Upon this he taught, that in all Places where Good and Bad were mixt together, there cou'd be no Church, by reason of Pollution, evaporating as it were from Sinners, which blasted righteous Persons who convers'd with 'em, and made all unclean. On this ground separating himself from all whom he list to suspect, he gave out that the Church was no where to be found but in him and his Associates, as being the only Men among whom wicked Persons found no shelter, and by consequence the only clean and unpolluted Company, and therefore the only Church. Against this St. *Augustin* laid down this Conclusion, *Unitatem Ecclesie per totum Orbem disperse propter nonnullorum peccata non esse defendendam*; which is indeed the whole Sum of that Father's Disputation against the *Donatist*.

Now

Now in one part of this Controversy betwixt St. *Augustin* and the *Donatist*, there's one thing very remarkable. The Truth was there where it was by mere chance, and might have been on either side, any Reasons brought by either Party notwithstanding: For tho it were *de facto* false, that *pars Donati*, shut up in *Africk*, was the only Orthodox Party; yet it might have been true, notwithstanding any thing St. *Austin* brings to confute it. And on the contrary, tho it were *de facto* true, that the part of Christians dispers'd over the Earth were Orthodox; yet it might have been false notwithstanding any thing St. *Austin* brings to confirm it. For where, or among whom, or among how many the Church shall be, or is, is a thing indifferent: it may be in any Number more or less; it may be in any Place, Country or Nation; it may be in All, and (for ought I know) it may be in none, without any prejudice to the definition of the Church, or the Truth of the Gospel. *North* or *South*, many or few, dispers'd in many Places, or confin'd to one; none of these either prove or disprove a Church.

Now this Schism, and likewise the former, to a wise Man that well understands the Matter in Controversy, may afford perchance matter of Pity, to see Men so strangely distracted upon Fancy; but of Doubt or Trouble what to do, it can yield none. For tho in this Schism the *Donatist* be the Schismatick, and in the former both Partys be equally in-gag'd in the Schism; yet you may safely, upon your Occasions, communicate with either, so be you flatter neither in their Schism. For why might it not be lawful to go to Church
with

with the *Donatist*, or to celebrate *Easter* with the *Quartodeciman*, if occasion so require? since neither Nature, nor Religion, nor Reason doth suggest any thing to the contrary: For in all publick Meetings pretending Holiness, so there be nothing done but what true Devotion and Piety brook, why may not I be present in 'em, and use Communication with 'em? Nay, what if those to whose Care the execution of the publick Service is committed, do something either unseemly or suspicious, or peradventure unlawful? What if the Garments they wear be censur'd as, nay indeed be superstitious? What if the Gesture of Adoration be us'd at the Altar, as now we have learn'd to speak? What if the Homilist or Preacher deliver any Doctrine, of the Truth of which we are not well persuaded? (a thing which very often falls out) yet for all this we may not separate, except we be constrain'd personally to bear a part in 'em ourselves. The Priests under *Eli* had so ill demean'd themselves about the daily Sacrifice, that the Scriptures tell us, they made it to stink; yet the People refus'd not to come to the Tabernacle, nor to bring their Sacrifice to the Priest. For in these Schisms, which concern Fact, nothing can be a just Cause of Refusal of Communion, but only to require the Execution of some unlawful or suspected Act; for not only in Reason, but in Religion too, that Maxim admits of no Release, *Cautissimicujusq; Præceptum quod dubitas, ne feceris*. Long it was e'er the Church fell upon Schism, upon this occasion, tho of late it hath had very many; for until the second Council of *Nice* (in which conciliable Superstition and Ignorance

rance did conspire) I say, till that Rout did set up Image-worship, there was not any remarkable Schism, upon just occasion of Fact; all the rest of Schisms of that kind were but Wantonness, this was truly serious. In this the Schismatical Party was the Synod it self, and such as conspir'd with it. For concerning the Use of Images *in Sacris*, First, It is acknowledg'd by all, that it is not a thing necessary. Secondly, It is by most suspected. Thirdly, It is by many held utterly unlawful. Can then the enjoining of the Practice of such a thing be ought else but Abuse? Or can the Refusal of Communion here, be thought any other thing than Duty? Here, or upon the like occasion, to separate, may peradventure bring personal Trouble and Danger (against which it concerns every honest Man to have *Pectus bene preparatum*) further harm it can't do. So that in these cases, you can't be to seek what to think, or what you have to do.

Come we then to consider a little of the second sort of Schism, arising upon occasion of Variety of Opinions. It has been the common Disease of Christians from the beginning, not to content themselves with that measure of Faith, which God and Scriptures have expressly afforded us; but out of a vain desire to know more than is reveal'd, they have attempted to discuss things, of which we can have no Light, neither from Reason nor Revelation. Neither have they rested here, but on pretence of Church-Authority, which is none, or Tradition, which for the most part is but Figment, they have peremptorily concluded, and confidently impos'd on others, a necessity of entertaining Conclusions of that nature;

nature; and to strengthen themselves, have broken out into Divisions and Factions, opposing Man to Man, Synod to Synod, till the Peace of the Church vanish'd, without all possibility of Recall. Hence arose those antient and many Separations among Christians, occasion'd by *Arianism*, *Eutychianism*, *Nestorianism*, *Photinianism*, *Sabellianism*, and many more both antient and in our time; all which indeed are but Names of *Schisms*, however in the common Language of the Fathers call'd *Heresys*. For Heresy is an Act of the Will, not of Reason; and is indeed a Lye, not a Mistake: else how cou'd that known Speech of *Austin* go for true, *Errare possum, Hereticus esse nolo*? Indeed *Manicheism*, *Valentinianism*, *Marcionism*, *Mahometanism*, are truly and properly *Heresys*; for we know that the Authors of 'em receiv'd 'em not, but minted 'em themselves, and so knew that which they taught to be a Lye. But can any Man avouch, that *Arius* and *Nestorius*, and others that taught erroneously concerning the Trinity, or the Person of our Saviour, did maliciously invent what they taught, and not rather fall upon it by Error and Mistake? Till that be done, and that upon good Evidence, we will think no worse of all Partys than needs we must; and take these Rents in the Church to be at the worst but *Schisms* upon matter of Opinion. In which case what we are to do, is not a point of any great depth of understanding to discover, so be Distemper and Partiality do not intervene. I do not yet see, that *Opinionum Varietas*, & *Opinantium Unitas*, are 'Aversae; or that Men of different Opinions in Christian Religion, may not hold Communion

in Sacris, and both go to one Church. Why may I not go, if occasion require, to an Arian Church, so there be no Arianism express in their Liturgy? And were Liturgys and publick Forms of Service so fram'd, as that they admitted not of particular and private Fancys, but contain'd only such things, as in which all Christians do agree, Schisms on Opinion were utterly vanish'd. For consider of all the Liturgys that are, or ever have been, and remove from 'em whatsoever is scandalous to any Party, and leave nothing but what all agree on, and the Event shall be, that the publick Service and Honour of God shall no ways suffer: Whereas to load our publick Forms with the private Fancys on which we differ, is the most Sovereign way to perpetuate Schism to the World's end. Prayer, Confession, Thanksgiving, Reading of Scriptures, Exposition of Scripture, Administration of Sacraments in the plainest and simplest manner, were matter enough to furnish out a sufficient Liturgy; tho nothing either of private Opinion, or of Church Pomp, of Garments, of prescrib'd Gestures, of Imagery, of Musick, of matter concerning the Dead, of many Superfluitys, which creep into the Churches under the name of Order and Decency, did interpose it self. For to charge Churches and Liturgys with things unnecessary, was the first beginning of all Superstition; and when Scruples of Conscience began to be made or pretended, then Schisms began to break in. If the spiritual Guides and Fathers of the Church wou'd be a little sparing of incumbring Churches with Superfluitys, and not over-rigid, either in reviving obsolete Customs, or im-

imposing new, there were far less danger of Schism or Superstition: and all the Inconvenience were likely to ensue, wou'd be but this; they shou'd in so doing yield a little to the Imbecillitys of Inferiors, a thing which *St. Paul* wou'd never have refus'd to do. Mean while, wherever false or suspected Opinions are made a piece of the Church Liturgy, he that separates is not the Schismatick; for it is alike unlawful to make Profession of known or suspected Falshoods, as to put in practice unlawful or suspected Actions.

The *Third* Thing I noted for matter of Schism was Ambition, I mean Episcopal Ambition, shewing it self specially in two Heads; one concerning Plurality of Bishops in the same See, another the Superiority of Bishops in divers Sees. *Aristotle* tells us, that Necessity causes but small Faults, but Avarice and Ambition were the Mothers of great Crimes. Episcopal Ambition hath made this true: for no occasion hath produc'd more frequent, more continuing, more sanguinary Schisms, than this hath done. The Sees of *Alexandria*, of *Constantinople*, of *Antioch*, and above all of *Rome*, do abundantly shew thus much; and our Ecclesiastical Storys witness no less, of which the greatest part consists in the factionating and tumultuating of great and potent Bishops. *Socrates* apologizing for himself, that professing to write an Ecclesiastical Story, he did oft-times interlace the Actions of Secular Princes and other Civil Businesss, tells us that he did thus to refresh his Reader, who otherwise were in danger to be cloy'd by reading so much of the Acts of unquiet and unruly Bishops, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἀλλήλων ἐτύρευσαν, in which as a
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Man might say, they made *Butter* and *Cheese* one of another; for *τυρέειν* (that I may shew you a cast out of my old Office, and open you a Mystery in Grammar) properly signifies to make Butter and Cheese. Now because these are not made without much Agitation of the Milk, hence *τυρέειν*, by a borrow'd and translated Signification, signifies to do things with much Agitation and Tumult.

But that I may a little consider of the two Heads, which I but now specify'd; the first I mention'd was the *Plurality of Bishops* in one Sec. For the general Practice of the Church from the beginning, at least since the original of Episcopacy, as now it is, was never to admit at once more than one Bishop in one See: And so far in this point have they been careful to preserve Unity, that they wou'd not suffer a Bishop in his See to have two Cathedral Churches; which thing lately brought us a Book out of *France*, *De Monogamia Episcoporum*, written by occasion of the Bishop of *Langres*, who, I know not upon what fancy, cou'd not be content with one Cathedral Church in his Diocess, but wou'd needs have two, which to the Author of that Work seems to be a kind of spiritual Polygamy. It fell out among the Antients very often, sometimes upon occasion of Difference in Opinion, sometimes because of Difference among those who were interested in the Choice of Bishops, that two Bishops, and sometimes more, were set up; and all Partys striving to maintain their own Bishop, made themselves several Churches, several Congregations, each refusing to participate with others, and many times proceeding to mutual Excommunication.

This is that which *Cyprian* calls, *Erigere Altare contra Altare*; to this doth he impute the Original of all Church-Disorders: and if you read him, you wou'd think he thought no other Church-Tumult to be a *Schism* but this. This perchance might plead some excuse: for tho' in regard of Religion it self, it matters not whether there be one or more Bishops in the same Diocess, and sometimes two are known to have sat at once (for *Epiphanus* reckoning up the Bishops of *Rome*, makes *Peter* and *Paul* the first; and *St. Austin* acknowledgeth, that for a time he sat Fellow-Bishop with his Predecessor, tho' he excuseth it, that he did so by being ignorant that the contrary had been decreed by the Council of *Nice*) yet it being a thing very convenient for the Peace of the Church to have it so, neither doth it any way favour of Vice or Misdemeanor: their Punishment sleeps not, who unnecessarily and wantonly go about to infringe it.

But that other Head of *Episcopal Ambition*, concerning *Supremacy of Bishops* in divers Sees, one claiming Superiority over another, as it hath been from time to time a great Trespasser against the Church's Peace, so it is now the final Ruin of it; the *East* and the *West*, thro' the Fury of the two prime Bishops, being irretrievably separated without all hope of Reconcilement. And besides all this Mischiefe, it is founded in a Vice contrary to all Christian Humility, without which no Man shall see his Saviour: For they do but abuse themselves and others, that wou'd persuade us that Bishops, by Christ's Institution, have any Superiority over other Men, further than of

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Reverence; or that any Bishop is superiour to another, further than positive Order agreed upon among Christians hath prescrib'd. For we have believ'd him that hath told us, *That in Jesus Christ there is neither high nor low; and that in giving Honour, every Man shou'd be ready to prefer another before himself.* Which Sayings cut off all claim most certainly to Superiority, by title of Christianity, except Men can think that these things were spoken only to poor and private Men. Nature and Religion agree in this, that neither of 'em hath a hand in this Heraldry of *secundum sub & supra*; all this comes from Composition and Agreement of Men among themselves. Wherefore this Abuse of Christianity, to make it lacquey to Ambition, is a Vice for which I have no extraordinary Name of Ignominy, and an ordinary I will not give it, lest you shou'd take so transcendent a Vice to be but trivial.

Now concerning *Schism* arising upon these Heads, you can't be for behaviour much to seek: for you may safely communicate with all Partys, as occasion shall call you; and the *Schismatics* here are all those who are Heads of the Faction, together with all those who foment it: for private and indifferent Persons, they may be Spectators of these Contentions as securely in regard of any peril of Conscience (for of danger in Purse or Person, I keep no account) as at a Cock-fight. Where Serpents fight, who cares which hath the better? The best wish is, That both may perish in the Fight.

Now for Conventicles, of the Nature of which you desire to be inform'd, thus much

in general. It evidently appears, that all Meetings upon unnecessary Occasions of Separation are to be so stil'd; so that in this sense a Conventicle is nothing else but a Congregation of *Schismatics*: yet time hath taken leave sometimes to fix this Name upon good and honest Meetings, and that perchance not altogether without good reason. For with publick Religious Meetings thus it fares: First, it hath been at all times confess'd necessary, that God requires not only inward and private Devotion, when Men either in their Hearts and Closets, or within their private Walls, pray, praise, confess, and acknowledge; but he further requires all those things to be done in publick by Troops and Shoals of Men: and from hence have proceeded publick Temples, Altars, Forms of Service, appointed Times, and the like, which are requir'd for open Assemblys; yet whilst Men were truly pious, all Meetings of Men for mutual Help of Piety and Devotion, wheresoever and by whomsoever celebrated, were permitted without exception.

But when it was espy'd that ill-affected Persons abus'd private Meetings, whether Religious or Civil, to evil Ends, Religiousness to gross Impiety (as appears in the *Ethnick Eleusinia* and *Bacchanalia*; and Christian Meetings under the Pagan Princes, when for fear they durst not come together in open view, were charg'd with foul Imputations, as by the report of Christians themselves plainly appears; and Civil Meetings many times, under pretence of friendly and neighbourly Visits, shelter'd treasonable Attempts against Princes and Commonweals) hence both Church and State join'd,

join'd, and jointly gave order for Forms, Times, Places of publick Concourse, whether for Religious or Civil Ends; and all other Meetings whatever, besides those of which both Time and Place were limited, they censur'd for Routs and Riots, and unlawful Assemblies in the State, and in the Church for Conventicles.

So that it is not lawful, no not for Prayer, for Hearing, for Conference, for any other Religious Office whatsoever, for People to assemble otherwise than by publick Order is allow'd. Neither may we complain of this in Times of Incorruption; for why shou'd Men desire to do that suspiciously in private, which warrantably may be perform'd in publick? But in Times of manifest Corruptions and Persecutions, wherein Religious Assembling is dangerous, private Meetings, howsoever besides publick Order, are not only lawful, but they are of Necessity and Duty; else how shall we excuse the Meetings of Christians for publick Service, in time of Danger and Persecutions, and of our selves in Queen *Mary's* days? And how will those of the Roman Church amongst us, put off the Imputation of Conventicling, who are known amongst us privately to assemble for Religious Exercise, against all establish'd Order, both in State and Church? For indeed all pious Assemblies in times of Persecution and Corruptions, howsoever practis'd, are indeed, or rather alone, the lawful Congregations; and publick Assemblies, tho according to Form of Law, are indeed nothing else but Riots and Conventicles, if they be stain'd with Corruption and Superstition.

What

What follows is taken out of Mr. *Hales's*
MISCELLANYS.

How to know the Church.

MARKS and Notes to know the Church there are none, except we will make true Profession, which is the Form and Essence of the Church, to be a Mark. And as there are none, so is it not necessary there shou'd be; for to what purpose shou'd they serve? That I might go seek and find out some Company to mark. This is no way necessary; for glorious Things are in the Scriptures spoken of the Church: not that I shou'd run up and down the World to find the Persons of the Professors, but that I shou'd make my self of it. This I do by taking upon me the Profession of Christianity, and submitting my self to the Rules of Belief and Practice, deliver'd in the Gospel; tho besides my self, I knew no other Professor in the World. If this were not the Author's end in proposal of the Title, it is but a mere Vanity.

To the Description of the Church.

The Church, as it imports a visible Company in Earth, is nothing else but the Company of Professors of Christianity, wheresoever dispers'd in the Earth. To define it thus by Monarchy, under one visible Head, is of
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Novelty crept up, since Men began to change the Spiritual Kingdom of Christ to Secular Pride and Tyranny; and a thing never heard of, either in the Scriptures, or in the Writings of the Antients. Government, whether by one or many, or howsoever, if it be one of the Church's contingent Attributes, it is all; certainly it is no necessary Property, much less comes it into the Definition and Essence of it. I mean outward Government; for as for inward Government, by which Christ reigns in the Hearts of his Elect, and vindicates them from spiritual Enemys, I have no occasion to speak, neither see I any reference to it in all your Author's Animadversions.

How Christ is the Head of the Church.

From the World's Beginning, till the last Hour of it, the Church is essentially one and the same, however perchance in Garment and outward Ceremony it admits of Difference. And as it was from the Beginning of the World, so was it Christian; there being no other Difference betwixt the Fathers before Christ and us, but this, As we believe in Christ that *is come*, so they believ'd in Christ that *was to come*; *Jesus Christ yesterday, and to day, and the same for ever*. Reference unto Christ is the very Essence of the Church, and there neither is, nor ever was any Church but Christ's; and therefore the Church amongst the *Jews* was properly and truly Christian, *quoad rem*, as we are. Now as this Church at all times is Christ's Body, so is Christ the Head of it; for it is as impossible for the Church, as for the Body, to be without its Head: it is not therefore as
your

your Author dreams. Christ came not to found a new Church, or to profess a visible Headship of it. That Relation to this Church, which we express when we call him the Head of it, is one and the same, from the Beginning to all Eternity; neither receives it any Alteration in this respect, because the Person, in whom this Relation is founded, is sometimes visible, sometimes not. 'Tis true indeed, the Head of the Church sometimes became visible, but this is but contingent and by Concomitancy. For Christ the second Person in the Trinity, becoming Man to redeem this Church, and manifest the way of Truth unto it, it so fell out that the Head of the Church became visible. Of this Visibility he left no Successor, no Doctrine, no Use, as being a thing merely accidental. I ask, Had the Church before Christ any visible Head? If it had, then was not Christ the first, as here our Teacher tells us; if it had none, why then shou'd the Church more require a visible Head than it did from the Beginning? To speak the Truth at once, All these Questions concerning the Notes, the Visibility, the Government of the Church, if we look upon the Substance and Nature of the Church, they are merely idle and impertinent: If upon the End, why learned Men do handle them, it is nothing else but Faction.

FINIS.

A
LETTER
FROM A
Country Attorney
TO A
Country Parson,
CONCERNING
*The Rights of the Christian
Church.*



L O N D O N,
Printed in the Year, M.DCC.IX.

LETTER

TO THE

COMMISSIONERS

OF THE LAND OFFICE

IN

ANSWER TO A

RESOLUTION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS



A LETTER to a Country Parson concerning The Rights of the Church.

S I R,



DO not wonder at what you inform me, that the Book call'd *The Rights of the Christian Church*, has made a great Noise on your side of the Country, because it is hard to say where it has not

done it. And since so many Writers have given their Thoughts of it, I send you mine according to your Invitation: in which I assure you no Man's Authority shall lead me, nor will I borrow or steal from others who have gone before me; but tell you plainly what occurs to me upon this Argument.

You say this Book is generally suspected by the Clergy to carry some ill Design against the Church: I believe I need not use Arguments to convince you, that I am as much engag'd in the Church's Interest as any Man can be who is not a Clergyman himself; having given Pledges to the Church by the Marriage of a Daughter, and by breeding one of my Sons to be a Parson.

Yet for my Life I can see no such Danger or pernicious Design in this Book as is apprehended : But in my Opinion the Writer has taken a great deal of pains to set forth a plain matter of Fact, which is so obvious, that only very great Wits and very great Fools are capable of overlooking it, *viz.* That the Characters of Clergymen, and all the Powers which belong to them, are wholly dependent on the Civil Power of that Nation to which such Clergy belong ; or in other words, that all Ecclesiastical Functions are the Creatures of Civil Power, or at least shou'd be so among Protestant Nations ; for he knows it is otherwise where Popery is establish'd : And therefore he makes it his Business to shew, that our Clergy shou'd not so far attach themselves to Popery, as to claim an Independent Power in *England*. And what can be plainer than that the *English* Clergy have not the least Claim to any such Power ? for if I shou'd ask you, by what Authority you exercise your Ecclesiastical Function in the Rectory of — you wou'd shew me your Letters of Institution, together with your Letter of Priest's Order ; and perhaps a Certificate of your Induction into the Parish Church.

Now, as for the Institution granted you by the Bishop upon your Presentation, there is not the least pretence for a Divine Right in this matter : for the Patron convey'd to you a Right, which came to him by Inheritance, Gift, or Purchase ; and you were qualify'd by Law to receive it ; and if the Bishop wou'd have kept you from it, you might have compel'd him by an Action of *Quare impedit* to have done you Right. Thus all the Authority by which you possess

possess your Living is deriv'd from the Civil Power.

Perhaps you will say, that your Priestly Character, which was your Qualification to receive the Rectory, was *jure divino*; but then, instead of shewing your Authority from God, you only produce your Orders from the Bishop. And I ask from whence did the Bishop derive his Power to ordain except from his Consecration? But still the Ordination-Office, and Consecration-Book, derive all their Authority from the Establishment of the Civil Power: so that his Consecration to the Office of a Bishop, and your Ordination to the Office of a Priest, are valid by virtue of an Act of Parliament. Had he been consecrated, and you ordain'd by any other Form, he had been no Bishop, and you no Priest. And shou'd you without this Legal Ordination have administer'd the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, you wou'd have forfeited a hundred pounds according to the Act of Uniformity made in the 14th Year of King *Charles* the Second, one Moiety to the King, the other to the Poor of the Parish.

Yet still you may be tempted to think that some Character is convey'd to you by the Bishops and Priests laying their Hands on your Head, the Bishop bidding you *Receive the Holy Ghost*, &c. But if this Ceremony and those Words had not been warranted by Law, as well as the Bishop's Power to use them, neither the Words nor the Ceremony cou'd have made you a Priest. They who devis'd these Forms of Ordination and Consecration, did very well in composing 'em according

to the antient Usage of Christian Churches: but still 'tis the Law of the Land gives Efficacy to those godly Forms and solemn Ceremonys. For suppose four Persons of as great Piety, Worth and Learning, as those who assisted at your Ordination, one wearing a Black Rochet and Lawn-Sleeves, and the other three Black Gowns and Cassocks, shou'd have laid their Hands on your Head, and us'd the Form of Ordination; it wou'd have had no Effect upon you, unless one of 'em had been commission'd by the Book of Consecration, and the other three by that of Ordination: Suppose you had been ordain'd by a Popish Bishop according to the Form of the *Roman Church*, your Ordination wou'd have no Effect in *England*, unless it were to make you liable to capital Punishment, according to a Law in that case still in force: and yet the Legislative Power may make such Orders valid (at least in such as shall become Protestants) by an Act of Parliament.

And by the way, this Consideration shews the Weakness of that *Dilemma* which the Papists urge against us: Say they, if our Church be a *Christian Church*, why did you separate from it? but if it were Anti-Christian, as your Homilys declare, how can you satisfy your selves in deriving your Holy Orders from it? I think it sufficient to answer, that since the Law of this Land has warranted our Holy Orders, we need not derive 'em from any other Authority; and shou'd we seek any farther, it wou'd be very difficult for us to assure our selves of an uninterrupted Succession of Bishops from *St. Peter*, thro all the Changes which happen'd in *Rome* from his days till the time of our Reformation. For even that one Accident of a
 Woman's

Woman's being chosen Pope does so much incumber their Pretence to an uninterrupted Succession, as to create insuperable Difficultys, since all the Promotions she made were Nullitys; and so must all things be which depended upon them. Now tho the Story of Pope *Joan* is look'd upon by some only as a Jest, yet that a Woman was for some time Pope is as certain as any thing in Ecclesiastical History; the authentick Register of the Fact written in Letters of Gold upon Vellum by the *Austin* Friars of *Canterbury*, and determining in the Reign of King *Henry* the Fifth, being now to be seen in *Clare-Hall* Library in *Cambridge*. The Design of this Register was to contain the Names of the Popes, the Dates of their several Elections, and how long they reign'd. And in this it is set down, that the Date of one Pope's Reign is continu'd longer than it really was, *Quia homo femina fuit electa Papa*, to cover the Reign of this Woman Pope. They who are curious in this particular may find the Copy of it printed by Mr. *Selden* in his *Decem Scriptores*. There is no Authority comparable to this, for *St. Peter's* Residence at *Rome*; the original Tradition coming only from *Papias*, whom *Eusebius* calls, *συνεγὼς τῶν νέων*, a half-witted Man: and as such he may be suppos'd to have taken things upon hear-say, without sufficient ground. But to let this pass; since we are inform'd by unquestion'd History of many great Wars and Revolutions, which have happen'd, not only in *Italy*, but throout all the Eastern and Western parts of the Christian World, it will be very difficult to find out an uninterrupted Succession of Bishops in any Church whatever: so that the only sure footing you can trust to, is the

Civil Power of your own Country, which warrants only the Orders of Clergymen in Communion with the Church of *England*: and therefore the Presbyterians are forc'd upon a necessity to derive their Orders from an uninterrupted Succession of Presbyters in the *Roman* Church, or any other where they can find it; but You and your Brethren of the Church of *England* are under no such necessity.

From hence I might observe to you, that all Popish Orders are mere Nullitys in *England*, because not warranted by our Laws: And indeed if those Orders and Consecrations cou'd be supported by Divine Authority, I can't see upon what pretence our Laws can hinder true Bishops and Priests from executing their Divine Functions in *England*; and consequently we have no way left to prevent the Infection of Popery.

The Papists will think hardly of this Notion, because they aim at an Ecclesiastical Power independent on the Civil Magistrate: but the Clergy of the Church of *England*, whose Predecessors made the Reformation from Popery in subordination to the Civil Power, can pretend no opposition to this Doctrine, but are bound by the Laws of the Reformation to uphold it. Such a Law is that against Appeals to *Rome*, made 24 of *Hen. 8.* the Preamble whereof declares, That the Crown of *England* is Imperial, and the Nation a compleat Body within it self, with a full Power to give Justice in all Cases, Spiritual as well as Temporal: And therefore 'twas enacted, that no Appeals shou'd be made to *Rome*. By virtue of this Law King *Henry* the Eighth was divorc'd from Queen *Catherine*,

rine, and his Marriage confirm'd with Queen Anne.

Soon after this, was made the Law which wholly extinguish'd the Pope's Power in *England*, the Reasons whereof are at large set forth in the History of the Reformation: the Substance of which in short was, That there Vol. I. can be no more than one Supreme Power; that the P. 141. King being that one Supreme over all his Subjects, Clergymen must be included, since their being in Orders cannot change their former Relation, founded upon the Law of Nature and Nations: and that tho there be particular Functions appropriated to Churchmen, yet the King is still Head, having Authority over them, and a Power to direct and coerce them in those. In this Parliament the Act was made for electing and consecrating of Bishops, and also another Act was pass'd for depriving the Bishops of *Salisbury* and *Worcester* (*Campejo* and *Chinuchii*) because they liv'd at the Court of *Rome*, and neglected their Diocesses, whereby 3000 l. a Year was carry'd out of *England*.

To sum up this matter, the Independency of the Crown of *England*, and the Absurdity of two Supreme Independent Powers, laid the whole Foundation upon which our Reformation from Popery was built. These were the Reasons upon which *Cranmer* advis'd King *Henry* the Eighth to recal his Appeal from *Rome*. And hereupon it was, when the Pope had order'd the Dean of the *Rota* to cite the King to *Rome*, to answer to the Queen's Appeal, that Sir *Edw. Karne*, being then at *Rome*, protested against the Citation, saying, There was a Nullity in all their Proceedings, since Ibid. the King was a Sovereign Prince, and the Church of P. 126. England

England a free Church, over which the Pope had no just Authority.

Neither were these Principles of the Reformation then newly invented by Dr. Crammer, and those who assisted in the abolishing the Pope's Power in *England*: they deriv'd 'em from their Ancestors, who, tho very much addicted to the Popish Superstition, still endeavour'd to maintain the Independency of the *English* Crown against all Popish Invasions; as may appear by the Statute of Provisors in the 15 of *Edw. 3.* the Preamble whereof says, *That whereas in the Parliament of King Edward the First, the present King's Grandfather, it was represented to that King at Carlisle, that the Holy Church of England, being founded in the Estate of Prelacy by that King and his Progenitors, and the Earls, Barons, and other Nobles of this Realm, and their Ancestors, &c. therefore they annul the Pope's pretended Power to provide to any Benefices in England.*

If you will look up higher, you may find in *Lalor's* Case in Sir *John Davis's* Reports, a Writ of *Kenulphus* a Saxon King, wherein he granted to the Abbot and Monks of *Abingdon* an Exemption from all Episcopal Jurisdiction, and at the same time Episcopal Power to the Abbot. This King reign'd *An. Dom. 755.* about which time this Charter was pass'd in that great Assembly we now call Parliament. But tho the whole Nation was then given up to Popish Superstition, yet they did not dream of any Independent Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. In *St. Edward's* Laws, chap. 19. 'tis declar'd, *That the King, who is the Vicar of the highest King, is ordain'd to this end, that he shou'd govern and rule the People of the Land, and above all things the Holy Church:*

Church : And this I take to be the Sum of that part of Common Law mention'd in the Reign of King *Edward* the First, when one of his Subjects (as the Lord *Coke* says in *Camdery's* Case) brought in a Bull of Excommunication against his Fellow-Subject, and publish'd it to the Lord Treasurer of *England* ; and this was by the antient Common Law of *England* adjudg'd Treason, not against the Bishops, but against the King, his Crown and Dignity ; for which he had been drawn and hang'd, if the earnest Intercession of the Chancellor and Treasurer had not prevail'd for the mitigating the Sentence, by forcing him to abjure the Realm. In the same Case the Lord *Coke* reports, that King *Edward* the Third presented a Clerk to a Benefice within the Province of *York*, who was refus'd by the Archbishop, because the Pope, by way of Provision, had confer'd it upon another. The King thereupon brought a *Quare non admisit* ; the Archbishop pleaded the Pope's Provision : for which his high Contempt against the King's Crown and Dignity (says *Coke*) by judgment of the Common Law, the Lands of his whole Bishoprick were seiz'd into the King's Hands during his Life : which Judgment (he adds) was before any Statute or Act of Parliament made in that Case. Whence it appears, that the Principle of the Reformation was taken from the antient Common Law of *England*, which admitted no Ecclesiastical Independent Jurisdiction.

'Tis not long since six or seven Bishops were depos'd by Act of Parliament, for not swearing Allegiance to King *William* the Third ; and I remember they were, after that, said by
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High-Principle Men, to be still Bishops of the Universal Church; a Phrase which may please some Metaphysical Speculators, but yet they are really Bishops no where at all: neither wou'd their Institutions or Ordinations, since the forfeiture of their Bishopricks, be found of force, if try'd by the Law of the Land. Nor is it any Objection to this, that the Orders granted by the outed Bishops during *Cromwel's* Usurpation, were esteem'd of full force after King *Charles* the Second's Restoration; for the Law own'd no *Interregnum* between the Death of *Charles* the First, and the Restoration of *Charles* the Second: so that whatever legal Act was done by the proper Officer during that time was valid, as if the Laws had receiv'd no Interruption. But if *Cromwel's* Usurpation had lasted ten years longer than it did, Bishop *Skinner*, and the two other Bishops of King *Charles* the First's time, who alone surviv'd that Usurpation, wou'd have been dead; and what then wou'd have become of the Church of *England* at King *Charles* the Second's Restoration? Here had been no Protestant Bishop left, and a Popish Bishop cou'd have no Authority in this Realm, nor indeed any Bishop who had not been consecrated according to our Form; nothing but an Act of Parliament cou'd have supply'd this Defect: And since an Act of Parliament gave Validity to the Consecration-Form, it might have given power to such as had been thought fit for the Use of that Office.

Heretofore, during the Schism in which two or three Popes reign'd together, it was enacted by our Parliament, that *Urban* shou'd be accepted as Pope, and obey'd in *England*, 2 Ric. 2. c. 6. And it

it was also declar'd by Parliament, in the 25th of *Hen. 8. cap. 21.* That the King and Parliament have Power of all Divine and Human Laws in England, next under God. And accordingly *Bonner* took a Commission from that King for his Episcopal Office, a Copy whereof was found in his own Registry, and publish'd in the Collection of Records, in the Third Book of the First Part of the History of the Reformation, *Numb. 14.* importing, That since all Jurisdiction, Ecclesiastical and Civil, flow'd from the King as Head, it became all those, who exercis'd it at the King's Courtesy, to acknowledge they had it from his Bounty. And since the King had constituted the Lord *Cromwel* his Vicegerent in all Ecclesiastical Matters, yet because he cou'd not look into all those Matters himself, the King, upon *Bonner's* Petition, did impower him, in his own stead, to ordain and institute fit Persons to be Priests and Deacons throughout the Bishoprick of *London*; and this to last only during the King's Pleasure: charging him to ordain only those who were fit to discharge those Holy Functions. Hereupon that accurate and judicious Historian observes, that the true reason of this compliance was, that the Popish Party apprehended *Cranmer's* great Interest with the King to be grounded on some Opinions he had of the Ecclesiastical Officers being as much subject to the King's Power, as all Civil Officers were; but there was this Difference, says he, that *Cranmer* follow'd it out of Conscience, but *Bonner* against Conscience (if he had any) comply'd with it. Hist. Ref. Vol. I. p. 267.

Moreover, in the first Parliament of *Edward the Sixth*, 'twas enacted, That Bishops shou'd be

Ibid. Vol.
II. Book I.
P. 43.

be made by the King's Letters Patent, upon which they were to be consecrated: And whereas the Bishops did exercise their Authority in their own Names, as they had done in the time of Popery; and since all Jurisdiction, both Spiritual and Temporal, was deriv'd from the King, therefore the Bishops Courts shou'd be held in the King's Name, and their Processes seal'd by the King's Seal, as in Courts of Common Law. According to the Tenor hereof, the Bishops renew'd their Commissions from *Edward* the Sixth; and the Commission which *Cranmer* then took of it is extant in the *Collection of Records*, to the Second Part of the Second Volume of the *History of Reformation*, Numb. 2.

According to the Tenor of this our Reformation, no Expression was more common in the Mouths of Clergymen during the Reigns of *Charles* the Second, and *James* the Second, than the *Religion by Law establish'd*. I suppose they did not mean the Gospel of *Jesus Christ* by Law establish'd, but that the manner of exercising our Religion, and Ministry thereof, was so establish'd: and accordingly the Law has appointed Bishops to be the Examiners and Approvers of all such, who may be intrusted with the Cure of Souls; their Ordination according to the Form by Law appointed is their authentick Approbation, which is certify'd by their Letters of Orders.

Now tho this seems to be a Matter very plain to every body's Understanding, yet there are some Men so proud of this Priestly Character, that they think it cannot be deriv'd to them from the Civil Power. No, that wou'd be
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to profane it into an intelligible thing, and spoil the Mystery; therefore they are willing to have it thought 'tis deriv'd to 'em from the Person of the Bishop, by the Imposition of his Hands. This Notion of a Character seems to be founded upon an implicit Faith in the Bishop; 'tis in short a Rag of Popery, and fits very ill upon the Reformation: 'Tis something which the Papists themselves cou'd never explain, and is still Invisible, as it was held to be Indelible. And pray let it be consider'd what is the real effect of the Bishop's imposing hands in Ordination: Does the Priest receive any change in his Soul or Body thereby? Is any discernible Character impress'd upon him? Is he sensible of any Alteration in himself, that he is grown either wiser or better, or in any respect improv'd? If not, what is it he receives from the Bishop but Authority to preach the Gospel, administer the Sacraments, and discharge all other ministerial Functions, according to the Order establish'd in this Realm by Act of Parliament? I remember a certain Person, with whom I was speaking upon this, said, he cou'd be content to suppose, that an Act of Parliament might authorize a well-qualify'd Person to preach the Gospel, but cou'd by no means allow the Civil Power (tho the Bishops were a part of it) to authorize the Administration of the Sacraments; which is supposing the Word of God not to be as holy as the Sacraments. But this Notion cou'd arise only from the Relicts of some mysterious Amusements, which have been thought inseparable from the Sacraments; as supposing that Baptism rightly administer'd cou'd confer

Immortality upon the Souls of Men, as Mr. *Dodwell* wou'd persuade us. Or if the Bread and Wine when duly consecrated, have such a miraculous change wrought in 'em, as the Papists suppose, I shou'd never believe that the Civil Power cou'd enable any Man to work such Wonders: but then I shou'd as hardly be persuaded, that the Bishops cou'd give the same Powers. But if Baptism be only a visible Admission into the visible Church, and the Lord's Supper only a Commemoration of the Death of Christ for us, I can't see why the Civil Power may not appoint these Ordinances to be administer'd in a decent and orderly manner, according to the primitive Institution and Practice.

If you please, let us consider the highest Pretensions to the divine Right of Episcopacy ever made by the Papists themselves, and see if they are inconsistent with an Establishment from the Civil Power. The Popish Collectors of antient Church History deliver, that *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* were both Preachers of the Gospel at *Rome*, the former to the Jewish, the other to the Gentile Converts. *St. Peter* before he suffer'd Martyrdom there, recommended his spiritual Charge to *Clement*: *St. Paul* upon the same occasion substituted *Linus*, who appointed *Cletus* (or *Anacletus*, as some call him) in his stead. But *Cletus* and *Peter* dying about the same time, and also the distinction between Jew and Gentile being then pretty well worn out, *Clement* was own'd by all the Christians then at *Rome* for their chief Inspector, or Bishop. Several learned Protestant Writers agree to this account, and therefore if you please we will take it for Truth.

Truth. For 'twas usual with the Apostles and Apostolical Men to recommend the earliest of their Converts, to succeed 'em in the Care of their Flocks: neither is it to be doubted, but the *Christian* Converts were glad to receive such Instructors as were so recommended to 'em. The poor faithful People at *Rome*, no doubt readily receiv'd *Linus*, *Cletus*, and *Clement*, and heard their Instructions, and profited in the Christian Faith and Practice by their Ministry. But these early Recommendations were intended only as discretionary Acts of Kindness to the *Christian* Converts; and as such were accepted by them. And in this sense it was, that all the Converts at *Rome* united together under the Ministry or Inspection of *Clement*, thereby making him their Bishop or chief Director, as to their Faith, and Communion in all Christian Doctrines, and Holy Ordinances. Tho *Peter* had recommended *Clement* to the Jewish Converts, yet he had not been their Bishop, unless they had accepted of him: and tho he did not recommend *Clement* to the Gentile Converts, yet he was their Bishop because they receiv'd him. So that we may say, that the *Christian* Converts at *Rome* erected the Pontificate of *Peter*, and *Paul*, and *Linus*, and *Cletus*, and *Clement* too at *Rome*.

Having now mention'd *Clement* of *Rome*, the Successor of St. *Peter*, and, as it happen'd, of St. *Paul* too, I will beg leave to cite one Passage out of his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, because it may help to settle the Notion of the word Clergyman, by comparing it with the word Layman, as it is us'd in that Epistle. 'Tis a Writing of primitive Antiquity, mention'd

tion'd by *Irenæus* and many antient Authors, and suppos'd by so great a Critick as *St. Jerome* to be of that *Clement*, whom *St. Paul* calls his Fellow-Labourer, *Phil.* 4. 3. The Passage is in p. 92. of the *Oxford Edition*, ὁ λαϊκὸς ἀνθρώπου τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προσέσµασιν δέδεται i. e. a Layman addicts himself to Lay-Employments. He had been speaking just before of the Jewish Priests and Levites, and then he speaks of Laymen, as distinguish'd from the Priesthood by their Secular Employments: So that he does not take Priesthood to imply any Character, but what is taken from a particular Employment to which the Priest wholly gives up himself. Accordingly, whilst *Peter* follow'd his Fishing-Trade, and *Paul* his Canvas-weaving for the covering of Tents, they were Laymen and Clergymen too; but when both of 'em left off their Trades, and gave themselves up to the Ministry of the Gospel, they were no longer Laymen in the sense of *St. Clement*. So likewise those *German Bishops* who are Secular Princes, and addict themselves to Secular Affairs (as the late *Clement of Cologne*) are to be rank'd under the Lay-Character: And so may the Pope and his Cardinals, and all others, however dignify'd and distinguish'd, who make their Care of the Flock of Christ the least part of their Business. A Farmer keeps a Flock of Sheep: yet because he does not take the immediate Care and Inspection over 'em, he is not their Shepherd; and the Person to whom he commits the immediate Care of 'em, if he neglects 'em, is their Shepherd only in name; and when he is discharg'd from that Care, and has no other Flock to look after, he is neither a Shepherd in

in Name or Deed, tho ever so well qualify'd for that Business. Perhaps his Friends may say he is a Shepherd of the Universal Flock, whereas in truth he is a Shepherd no where, or, which is all one, at present no Shepherd at all. Thus the Character of an Ecclesiastical Shepherd distinguish'd from the Office, is a Church *Chimera* invented by Popish Schoolmen, and of the same piece with Transubstantiation; a Pastor and no Pastor, Bread and no Bread.

'Tis amazing to think, that any of our Clergy who have subscrib'd the Book of Homilys, shou'd derive their Character from the Church of *Rome*, which is declar'd, *for the space of nine hundred Years past, to have been so far wide from the Nature of the true Church, that nothing can be more.* Hom. for Whit-Sunday. Also, *that it is an Idolatrous Church, not only an Harlot (as the Scripture calls her) but also a foul, filthy, old wither'd Harlot, and the Mother of Whoredom, guilty of the same Idolatry, and worse than was among Ethnicks and Gentiles.* Hom. of the Peril of Idolatry, p. 69. Edit. 1623. And in another Homily 'tis said, *that they are not only more wicked than Gentile Idolaters, but no wiser than Asses, Horses and Mules, that have no Understanding.* This is not only one Doctor's Opinion, but the standing Doctrine of the Church of *England*, which the Clergy have subscrib'd ever since the Reformation was perfected. How far from this Doctrine, from the Spirit of the Reformation, and the Sentiments of our first Reformers, are they remov'd, who will chuse to derive their Orders from the Whore of *Babylon*, rather than from the Civil Authority, under which the Gospel of *Jesus Christ* is maintain'd?

There is no middle way; but one of these two you must take: The Clergy must derive their Authority either from the See of *Rome*, or from the Civil Power, and the Consent of the People. And if you consider the Uncertainty of an uninterrupted Succession from the Apostles by way of *Rome*, and what Opinion our Church has declar'd of that See in her Homilys, and likewise the Reasons upon which the Reformation was built, as is declar'd by our Statute Laws; methinks it shou'd not be difficult for an *English* Protestant to distinguish the right way from the wrong.

And you will be confirm'd in your choice, when you shall find that they who have chosen the contrary way, have so far attach'd themselves to Popery and Arbitrary Power, as to endanger both our Civil and Religious Libertys more than once. 'Twas this sort of Clergy which complemented our Kings with the Divine Right of a Prerogative above Law, to the end that he in his turn might favour their Independency, and exalt their Power. And it is observable, that those Kings who have suffer'd themselves to be flatter'd with this Prerogative, have always made use of it in favour of Popery. By virtue of this it was, that King *James I.* forgetting the Poudertreason, soon dispens'd with those Laws which had been thereupon enacted against Papists, and commanded the Judges (notwithstanding their Oaths to the contrary) to forbear the Execution of 'em: and all this was done at the Request of the *Spanish* Ambassador, that his Son's Match with the Daughter of *Spain* might be made up, for the sole Interest of good *English* Catholicks. By the same high Priestly

Priestly Flattery, King *Charles I.* was prevail'd on to suffer Archbishop *Laud* to exalt his Independent Power in the Prerogative Court and Star-Chamber; and this was the chief Cause of that great Discontent, which broke out after into an unnatural and bloody Civil War, and ended in *Cromwel's* Usurpation, which was upheld by nothing so much as supporting the Protestant Interest both at Home and Abroad, in opposition to Popery. The Men of this Principle, in *Charles* the Second's time, cou'd not forbear declaring their Aversion to the Exclusion-Bill, for setting aside the Duke of *York's* Remainder in the Crown, tho he had been judg'd by the Commons of *England*, in three Parliaments, to have render'd himself incapable of executing the Sovereign Power of these Realms, by apostatizing to Popery.

'Twas this Party which shew'd afterwards their Aversion to the People's taking the Forfeiture of the Crown, and disposing of it to the Prince of *Orange*, notwithstanding King *James* had actually degenerated into Tyranny for the sake of Popery. 'Tis this Party which still shew their dislike to the Succession of the House of *Hanover*; these are the honest Persons, who in conjunction with the Papists must be suppos'd to have invited the Pretender, and encourag'd the late Invasion: and so heinously do they resent the Allegiance we paid to the late King, and her present Majesty, that several of 'em have forsaken the Communion of the Church of *England*, as now by Law establish'd, and erected a separate Communion among themselves.

They wou'd take it ill to be call'd a Popish Party, because they dissent from the Articles
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of the Popish Faith; but let their Belief be what it will, they have always serv'd the turn of Popery, and the Spirit of Popery and Persecution still reigns in them. Perhaps they will take it ill to be call'd a Faction: But is it not the Character of a Faction to bear it self above the establish'd Laws of their Country, to endeavour to exclude from the common Benefits and Trusts of their Country those who have appear'd more hearty in the Protestant Interest against Popery than themselves; to endeavour to gain an Independent Power, and engross the Favour of the Supreme Magistrate by the meanest Flatterys, to the manifest danger of the whole Kingdom? And is it not the highest degree of Faction and Madness, to account all others factious who will not run into the same Extravagance with themselves? On the other hand, was it Faction to advise King *James* the First (as Bishop *Williams* did) against dispensing with the Laws made against Popish Recusants, who had lately form'd, and were going to execute an execrable Plot against his Life, against the very Being of *English* Parliaments, and the Imperial Crown of these Realms? Was it Faction in the Parliament of King *Charles* the First, to take down Archbishop *Laud*'s independent Clergy Courts, which were unknown to the Law of the Land? Was it Faction in the Commons of *England* to set aside the Duke of *York*, after he had incapacitated himself for the Regal Office; or in a later Parliament to declare the Throne vacant, when the Government and Religion establish'd by Law had been invaded, and in some degrees subverted by him?

Upon

Upon the whole matter it appears, that since the Reformation there has been but one eminent Faction in *England*, the *Laudean* or Popish Faction, from whence alone all the Dangers and Disturbances of this Protestant Nation have arisen. 'Twas this Faction, which ever since the Reformation has avow'd the Act of Parliament for taking away Abbey-Lands to have been sacrilegious. And if in the Reign of King *James* the Second an Action had been brought, as was design'd, to have restor'd *Sion-House*, and the Lands thereunto appertaining, to the Nuns of *Sion*, who were formerly remov'd from thence, and had transplanted themselves to *Portugal*, where they remain'd in a successive Body ever since; 'tis easy to guess on what side a Jury of these Churchmen wou'd have given their Verdict.

Now the case being thus, that in this Realm there has been a Reformation from Popery, carry'd on by the Supreme Legislative Power, whereby the Church of *England* is at present very well supported, and its Clergy duly encourag'd; here is likewise a Faction, which having cast off some Popish Principles retain the Spirit of Popery, and as oft as occasion has given leave, assisted the Popish Interest. Now what shall a Clergyman or Layman do? Shall he govern himself by the Spirit of this Party, or by the Spirit of the Reformation? The Book call'd *The Rights of the Christian Church* seems chiefly design'd to support the Principles of the Reformation against the chief Principle of this Popish Faction, viz. the Independency of the Clergy upon the Civil Power. *Tertullian* profess'd he shou'd have had the greater Esteem (if possible) for the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*,
because

because *Nero* shew'd so great a dislike to it: And when a Man considers what this Faction has always been, he may with Reason have a greater Value for the Principles of the Reformation, because he finds such People willing to annul it. Nor will he think the worse of *the Rights*, at which they have so much rail'd, because it endeavours to support those Principles.

Let no Man then persuade you, that the Notions asserted in the *Rights*, &c. have any tendency to ridicule the Clergy, and destroy their Order; for no Man can ridicule the Order of the Clergy as depending on the Civil Power, without ridiculing the Reformation, which none but a Papist is capable of doing. And Experience has fully shewn, that nothing was ever so prejudicial to the Clergy of the Church of *England* as their aiming at an Independency, and their Zeal for Ceremonys, whereby (in the Opinion of the Laity) they symboliz'd too much with Popery. 'Twas this Opinion the People had conceiv'd of the Clergy, which occasion'd the Downfal of the Church in the last Age: Which shews, that no Legal Establishment is sufficient to uphold a Church, whose Clergy seem to divide themselves from the Civil Government; but when they are united to it, they are in their full Strength and Vigor.

F I N I S .

Mr. *LE CLERC*'s
EXTRACT
 A N D
JUDGMENT
 O F

*The Rights of the Chris-
 tian Church asserted,
 &c.*

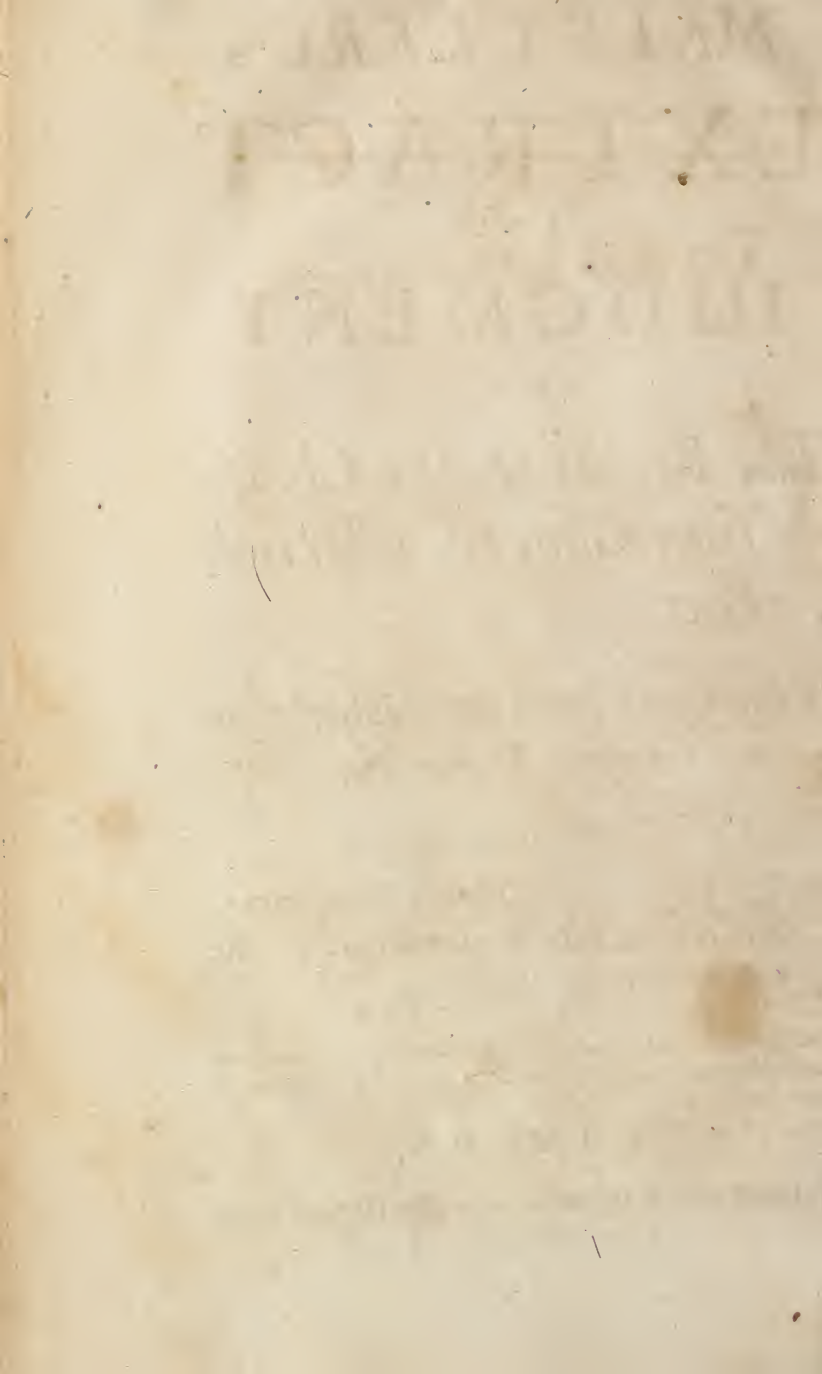
Translated from his *Bibliothèque
 Choisie, Tome X.*

To which is prefix'd,

A LETTER to a Noble Peer, occa-
 sion'd by a late Presentment of the
 Grand Jury of *Middlesex*.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *A. Baldwin* near the *Oxford Arms*
 in *Warwick Lane*. 1708.



To the Lord —.

My Lord;

I HAVE read over what your Lordship mention'd to me, when I had the Honour to wait on you last at R——d, viz. The Extract of the Rights of the Christian Church, as it is publish'd by Monsieur Le Clerc, in his Bibliotheque Choisie. And since your Lordship is pleas'd to require my Judgment of it, tho I have seen few Abridgments which have not extremely injur'd their original Authors, yet this, I must say, has given me much Satisfaction, and fully answers my Expectation from a Man of Mr. Le Clerc's known Abilitys.

Your Lordship perhaps will smile, when I tell you, that I think this Account in French, tho of an English Book, ought to be translated back again into English: For I do not expect to see a better Extract of it by any English Hand, unless the Author himself would undertake it; and I believe many will be prevail'd upon to consider the Arguments, when they see 'em in a less compass, who will not, thro the Prejudice they have conceiv'd against the Book it self, be otherwise rightly appriz'd of 'em. I have therefore desir'd a Friend to translate it, tho I cou'd have taken much pleasure

sure in doing it my self, if I had been favour'd with an opportunity. It will, I believe, be some Satisfaction to the Publick, to see the Judgment of a Learned and Ingenious Foreigner concerning this Piece, which has found both the greatest Reception, and the most violent Opposition, of any Book we have had printed among us for many years.

For tho nothing is plainer, than that the Author's Design is not to deprive the Clergy of any just Powers which belong to them, but only to make 'em sensible by what Title they hold, yet they have taken the Alarm, as if their Altars were quite pull'd down, and their Churches destroy'd. The Cry is up pro Aris & Focis, and the Book is arraign'd of Sedition, Rebellion, Blasphemy, and what not? And the great Provocation is, its opposing that Source of Absurditys and endless Confusion, viz. the Notion of two Independent Powers in the Government. But what's more strange is, that a Prosecution shou'd be set on foot against a Book, whose whole Strength is employ'd in the Defence of our Constitution; and that the Laws should be appeal'd to against a Writer, who has with the greatest Learning and Clearness asserted 'em.

It is certain, that a great many People have taken up a most terrible Opinion of that Book upon trust, and without having perhaps read a Page in it. And this was, I suppose, the Case of the trusty Zealots at Hicks's Hall, who knowing very little of the matter, were yet unwilling to have recourse to their old honest Verdict of Ignoramus; but thought fit, upon the angry Complaint, and partial Representations, of a certain Clergy-man, to present the Author, Printer, and Publisher of the said Book. I might suppose your Lordship has seen the Letter printed lately on that occasion, in which the Passages, as they are in the
Book

Book it self, and as they are recited in the Presentment, are set against one another, to enable the Reader to judg of the Honesty of the Report, and of the Justice of the consequent Proceedings. But lest, amidst your more important Engagements, that Paper may not have come to your Hands, I will take leave to send you two Passages out of it, as a Specimen of the whole.

In the Presentment.

Book, pag. 15.] 'Tis a grand Mistake to suppose the Magistrate's Power extends to indifferent Things. Men have Liberty as they please, and a Right to form what Clubs, Companies, or Meetings they think fit, either for Business or Pleasure; which the Magistrate cannot hinder, without manifest Injustice.

think fit, either for Business or Pleasure, which the Magistrate, as long as the Publick sustains no Damage, cannot hinder, without manifest Injustice, and acting contrary to the main End for which he was intrusted with Power, the Preservation of Mens Liberties in all such Things as could be done without Detriment to the Publick.

In the Book.

Book, pag. 15.] 'Tis a grand Mistake, to suppose the Magistrate's Power extends to indifferent Things; for then he might deprive Men of all Liberty, and render his Power insupportable, in hindring them from managing their private and Family Concerns, as they please; which they have not only a Right to do, but to form what Clubs, Companies, or Meetings they

Book, pag. 118.] Priests no more than Spiritual Make-baits, Bare-

Book, pag. 118.] And if the Heathen World was, as Divines tell

Bareters, Beautefeus, and Incendiaries; and who make Churches serve to worse Purposes than Bear-gardens. *tell us, under the Power of Satan, I should be glad to see how they avoid this Consequence of Nature's not being so much perverted then, as*

since, under the Government of certain Priests, who are no better than Spiritual Makebaits, Bareters, Beautefeus, and Incendiaries; and who make their Churches serve to worse Purposes than Bear-Gardens, where Beasts are only the Combatants; but here Christians are halloo'd on to worry and devour one another, and all in Defiance of the Scriptures, which teach the forgiving even of the greatest Injuries, while they require People to treat those who have not done 'em the least Injury, after the most barbarous manner.

Now I wou'd ask an indifferent Judg, whether any thing can be more impudent or notoriously dishonest than this manner of Citation? But 'tis plain, that without it, the Solicitor of this Presentment could not have carry'd on his Design; and I cannot but make one Remark on the last of these Passages, which is, that the Prosecutor himself has prov'd by it, the Truth of the very Assertion he arraigns, viz. that there are certain Priests who are Beautefeus and Incendiaries; and 'tis to be fear'd, would be so in a literal sense too, if they might be so happy as to revive their old de comburendo Statute. At least it may be said, that this manner of Prosecution extremely resembles the Proceedings of the holy Brethren of the Inquisition, who, when they would deliver a Wretch to be destroy'd by the secular Power, first dress him up for his Execution in a painted Coat of Flames, to make him appear as devilish

as possible to the staring Multitude. I wou'd fair know, if this Stratagem of transcribing Sentences imperfectly, and leaving out what one pleases, were to be turn'd upon the Party, what there is of all their most abhor'd Doctrines, which one might not convict 'em of asserting? I wou'd undertake by this Art, as hard as it may seem, to prove out of their own Writings, that A—— is an avow'd Enemy to the Lower-House of Convocation; that H—— is an Admirer of the present Set of Bishops; that the Rehearser is a Champion for the Revolution, and (which wou'd be as strange as any thing) that S——l, that Captain-General of High-Church, meant nothing by his Bloody Banner, but to wage a Christian War in Defence of Moderation.

The Partiality of this Prosecution is indeed so notorious, that tho our Laws for every Man's Safety ordain, that he be try'd by a Jury of his own Country and Neighbourhood; yet the Author of the Rights might expect a much juster Treatment in appealing to Foreigners, who are disinterested Judges in the Matter. And for Mr. Le Clerc in particular, he has always express'd too just an Esteem of the Church of England, to be suspected as byass'd in favour of a Book, which cou'd with any reason be concluded to oppose the true Interest and Constitution of it. It will be easy to judg, even by the Extract, whether the Author's Cause and Arguments are good; for some Truths are oppos'd only because deliver'd with too much Freedom: and 'tis not of such Consequence to know, whether the Writer of that Book has treated his Subject in the most proper manner, as to know, whether his Reasonings are not in themselves of too great a Force to be overthrown by the Efforts of an enrag'd Party.

But

But as it is the common Vice of Mankind, to be extravagantly desirous of more Power than they are always willing to exercise for the Good of their Fellow-Creatures ; so the Clergy are not free from this Contagion : and therefore they have upon many occasions endeavour'd to interest Heaven it self in their Quarrels, tho the Question has been only upon Temporalities. Thus the Adherents to Arbitrary Power have by a like Stratagem represented the Patrons of Liberty as Levellers, Commonwealths-Men, and Enemy's to the Prince's Prerogative.

After all, if the Book of the Rights were ever so formidable, the Clergy need not be apprehensive of any ill Consequence, if they wou'd but be content with that sort of true Greatness which best becomes them ; and if their Ambition rather turn'd to rule over Men by the eminent Distinctions of their Learning, Piety, and good Example, than by their Secular Power. This, your Lordship knows, is agreeable to the Judgment of one of the best of them, that has written on the very Case, I mean the ever-memorable Mr. Hales of Eaton ; I refer to his Tract of the Power of the Keys for the Passage, which our high-flying Clergy may read with Blushes. And I will not now detain your Lordship any longer, when I have assur'd you, that I am, &c.

Mr.

Mr. LE CLERC's
*Extract and Judg-
ment on the Rights
of the Christian
Church, &c.*

*Translated from his Bibliotheque
Choisié, Tom. X.*

THIS Book, we hear, has been the Subject of much Discourse in *England*; nor is it at all surprizing that it should, since the Author attacks with all his might the Pretensions of such as are call'd *High Churchmen*: that is, of those who exalt the Bishops Rights so far 'as to make them Independent, in Ecclesiastical Affairs, of Prince and People; and who construe all that has been done to prevent the Laity's Dependance on Bishops, whether in *England*, or on this side the Water, as Lay-Usurpation, and against Divine Right. Nay, these

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Gentlemen carry it so far as to damn all, at least don't allow them to be sav'd without a Miracle, and the extraordinary Grace of God, who do not live under Episcopal Government, and who receive not the Sacraments from Priests Episcopally ordain'd. Persons of such high Pretensions are, for the most part, very sensible, when they are any ways, tho ne'er so lightly, touch'd; while yet they themselves insist, That others should patiently take, as it were for Gospel, what the New Testament says nothing of, as even the chief of that Party own. They complain notwithstanding, as, if all was ruin'd, except their Principles be admitted; tho in other respects the indisputable Doctrine of the Apostles be inviolably preserv'd. But in truth these are not the Sentiments of the Church of *England*, which is too much enlighten'd, and too wise, to carry things to such Extremitys; and which has all along shewn by her Conduct, from the time of the Reformation, that she meant to depend in divers respects on the Sovereign Authority of King and Parliament: And which pretends not, that they who live under another Government, are for that only in danger of Damnation.

For my own part, tho I am perswaded that Episcopal Government, without Tyranny, is the best, as Experience shews, when it can be, or is once, establish'd; yet I see no reason to damn those Protestants, who live where it is not, nor can be, establish'd without great Disorders and Troubles in the State; especially when 'tis confess'd, as 'tis by some of these Gentlemen, that there is no Command for it in the New Testament.

I don't mean to take any part in the particular Disputes, which the Learned in *England* have among themselves about the Independent Power of Bishops; and much less to reflect in any sort on the Church of *England*, which I respect and honour, as the most Illustrious of all the Protestant Churches; which abounds with Learned Men, and a Multitude of Books full of good Sense, Learning,
and

and Piety. This is a Justice I have always paid her with pleasure, and that without any Interest engaging me thereto. But I am persuaded, that the Wise and Moderate of that Church can have no Apprehensions of the Church's Danger, that such a Book as this is suffer'd to appear in publick. I believe the Author, as himself says, had no design against the present Establishment, which he approves; but only against some excessive Pretensions, and those contrary withal to the Laws of *England*, and to the Authority of King and Parliament. As I know him not, nor have any concern with him, I have no particular Interest to defend him; nor do I undertake it.

If it be thought, that in certain Passages he has carry'd things too far, there needs no more than to refute him calmly with Scripture and Reason, which he employs, the best he can, to support his own Opinions. The *English* Nation has too much Light and good Sense to be abus'd by false Reasonings, especially when 'tis lawful, as at present, to oppose them with better. Truth, I believe, never runs any risque among an enlighten'd People, but when 'tis not permitted to be spoken; nor has it any thing to fear from Lyes, if suffer'd to encounter them on equal terms: So that they, who think they have Truth on their side, have nothing to fear from Books, so long as they may write, and publish others to defend her.

This here is too full of Matter for me to offer at giving an exact Abstract of it; and they, who understand *English*, will do well to read the Original. They have scarce ever read a Book so strong, and so supported, in favour of those Principles, which Protestants on this side the Water commonly hold. I'll only give an Abridgment of the Introduction, which contains the general Principles of the Work; and observe in gross what each Chapter and the Preface contains. See here then the short of the Introduction.

The greatest part of the Ills attending Civil Societys proceed, according to this Author, only from the Abuse of Power in those who preside; and that either in extending it to things which never were, or that could never regularly be committed to their charge; or else in applying it to things, tho in truth within their Sphere, yet after a manner opposite to the End for which those Powers were establish'd. But besides the Ills common to all Civil Societys, such as are Christian have some peculiar to themselves: Which ariseth hence, That some among these would establish two Independent Powers, the one Civil, the other Ecclesiastical, in the same Society.

This Doctrine has occasion'd a thousand Disturbances, not only between Princes and Priests, but also among Ecclesiasticks themselves, as History teacheth us, and we see at this day.

The Design of this Discourse is to shew, First, How far the Sovereign Power extends, and in what respects Men are still in the Liberty of the State of Nature, and depend on God only and their own Consciences. Secondly, To examine by what Proofs, drawn from Reason and Scripture, some would pretend to establish an Independent Power in the Clergy.

1. It will be allow'd, That the Scripture neither enlarges nor restrains any Power of the Governours of Mankind, and that God has not divided the Earth among certain Governments, or to certain Familys, whom he has commission'd to govern the Whole or any Part; and by consequence the Power of Sovereigns comes not immediately from God, but from the People. So that to know the Extent of Sovereign Jurisdiction, 'tis necessary to know what Power Men have over one another, and over themselves; because they cannot give what themselves have not.

It is plain, that Creatures of the same Kind, and created to the same Advantages, are originally equal. No one by Nature has more Power over
another,

another, than that other has over him. 'Tis nevertheless true, that Infants are not in a State of pure Equality ; for till they attain the Use of Reason, 'tis necessary they be govern'd by that of their Parents : yet these very same Parents, if they lose the Use of their own, ought no less to be govern'd by the Reason of their Children, when come to Age of Discretion. So that the same Reason, which sets a Father free, operates alike in the Son ; who then has, within the Bounds of the Law of Nature, as extensive a Liberty as his Father, to order himself and Actions, as he sees fit. And he ought to use it thus, if for no other reason, yet for this, because he naturally loves himself, and consequently prefers his own Good to any other Person's ; which also is a Right, of which he can't divest himself : and being thus oblig'd to preserve his own Life and Person, and endeavour to subsist as happily as Nature permits, he can neither give his Father, nor any other whatsoever, an absolute Power over his Life, or what is necessary to preserve it.

But the Defenders of Arbitrary Power pretend, That Men are so far from a State of Equality, or Liberty, that they are born their Father's Slaves, and that these have an absolute Power over their Lives : And that Monarchy, being founded on this Model, is altogether Arbitrary. But on the contrary, a Father is so far from acquiring any such Right over his Child by being the Instrument of his Birth, that he is more oblig'd than any other whatsoever, to take care of and preserve it. There is nothing in the State of Nature, which can give him the Property of the Child's Life (whom he ought to consider as God's Creature, not his own) but what may give him the same Power over another Man, nay to another Man, and even to his own Child, the same Power over him. If a Child, having attain'd the Age of Discretion, continues with his Father, he ought to obey him as the Chief of the Family ; or if the
Child

Child has further expectations from his Father, he ought moreover to obey him, from a prudent Consideration, in every thing that will not occasion him more hurt, than the Advantage he expects from his Father would over-balance. But these Considerations set aside, all that a Child owes its Parents is Respect, Acknowledgment, and Assistance in case of need ; and if this be all that it owes its Mother, and those who have foster'd it, supposing it exposed, What Pretence can the Father have to an Absolute Power over it ? If he had receiv'd such Power by the Law of Nature, he could no more be divested of it, than of the Honour and Respect which the same Law gives him ; so that he cannot thence derive any but Paternal Government. Besides, as Fathers only would thus be capable of having Subjects, none could have any other Subjects than those they had brought into the World, and after their Death even these would become free : because this Power being inherent in the Person, the Father could no more dispose of it to any other by Will, than of his own Relation as Father ; and by consequence his Children would remain in the State of Nature, until they quitted it by mutual Consent.

It is certain, they are naturally free, and have no Power one over another, that is not reciprocal, except they lose their Equality in forming together, by their own Consent, a Body Politick ; which cannot be but by consigning to the major Part, the Power to do what they see fit for the Society it self. This Power must at first be plac'd by Consent, either express or tacit, in the majority of the Members, who, when the greater Multitude do's not hinder, retain it themselves, or else commit it to some one, who acting as their Representative, ought to be obey'd as long as he governs agreeably to the End for which he was establish'd ; yet who, when he acts contrary to that End, in the judgment of those who deputed him for that purpose, do's in some sort make that Power naturally, as it were, revert to the People. When a Government is once
founded

founded by Consent of the interested Parties, it subsists on the same foot; because the Power of the first Governors being dead with them, the Laws preserve their Authority by means of those who come after; they being presum'd to approve of them till they declare the contrary, otherwise Laws could not be repeal'd nor chang'd but by those who made them. Moreover, as Laws derive their Authority from the present Government, so the Government owes the Power of enforcing their Observation, not to any Agreement of past Ages, but to the Consent of the present Generation, which they sufficiently express in desiring to be protected by the Government in their Persons, Liberties and Estates, and also in agreeing to what is necessary to attain this End.

This is the only way that most People have taken to shew to every Generation, that they approve the Government; and 'tis this which makes every one subject to the Government under which he lives. So that all Governments, as well the Present as Past, have no other Foundation than the Consent of the Party's interested, either express'd or imply'd, either assembl'd together, or apart.

It is of no weight to object, That a Government by Consent cannot presently be erected, since 'tis not to be presum'd, that all the Members of a Society should instantly assemble to give it: because tho' few do immediately agree to have one only Sovereign Power, it sufficeth, that the rest do recognize by their Behaviour an Authority so advantageous to them. There's no Reason to deny People's coming at first out of the State of Nature, in the same manner as they have done since. They who make the foregoing Objection, may in like manner prove, that Languages are not of human Institution; because that Words having naturally no signification, we cannot imagine that all who spake the same Tongue, could assemble together to fix by common Consent certain Ideas to certain Sounds. Nevertheless this depends not only upon the Consent of those
who

who first spake one certain Language, but also on those who use it afterwards : For none can make any Alteration or Addition, without the exprefs or tacit Consent of those who speak it. They who say that almost all the present Governments owe their Rise to Conquest, and not to the Peoples Consent, attribute a strange Virtue to the desolating of Provinces, to the ruining of Citys, and to the ill Treatment that People undergo from their Conquerors ; since this not only absolves People from the Obedience they ow'd their former Governors, who endeavour'd to preserve them from these Evils, but also renders them, and their Posterity, Slaves to the Conquerors. But if this is absurd, as without doubt it is, the Conqueror's Right must be acknowledged to be founded on the Consent of those, who being abandon'd by their Governors, because no longer able to protect them, repossess the Rights of Nature, and are at liberty to submit themselves to the Conqueror, who promiseth them Protection : 'Tis on this foot that Frontier Towns often change their Masters more than once in a Campaign, and swear Allegiance to them. It's evident, that all Nations, whose Original we know, without excepting so much as the Jews, have form'd their Bodys Politick by consent of the interested Parties: and it is further certain, that the Changes which have since been in these Governments, subsist on the same Basis ; and by consequence, if all Governments were founded each after the same manner they have been since changed, there's no one in being, which has more Power over the People, than the People could give.

Men having no Power over their own Lives and Members, which Nature forbids them to neglect ; the Authority of Government arises not from hence, That People have given an Absolute Power of Life and Member, but from the natural Right every one has to preserve himself, and to prefer his own Good to any other Person's.

God, in giving Man this one innate Principle, inseparable from his Nature (*i. e.* to seek his own Happiness, and endeavour to live as conveniently as Nature permits) has given him Right, or rather has enjoin'd it as his Duty, to do all that is proper to attain this End. This includes not only a Right to seek Reparation for an Injury receiv'd, but also to punish the Person who did it; and this in prospect of preventing the like for the time to come. Men's mutual Security, as well as the Bonds of Nature, obliging them to assist one another, they have Right to take proper Measures to succeed herein; such as are the Agreement to be govern'd conformably to certain Laws known and stated, to establish a certain Sovereign Authority for determining their Differences according to those Laws; and to assist with all their Force in every thing, that relates to their common Defence and Safety. So that the Power, which belongs to each Individual in the State of Nature, upon their Renunciation, is vested in the Magistrate, whose Right of punishing can extend no further, than that Right did in the State of Nature, wherein every one was oblig'd to do all he could for preserving the Life and Liberty, the Members and Goods of others, while his own are not in danger. Government is so far from discharging Men from this Obligation, that its chief End is to protect them in all their Acts not prejudicial to others: And consequently in matters of this kind, Men are still in the state of Liberty and of Nature. So that no Consent or Association, which Men make with one another, is what puts them out of the State of Nature; but this Political Union, by which they ingage themselves to a reciprocal Defence, and to assist the Magistrate in punishing those Offences, which the Publick Good permits not to go unpunish'd. Whereby it appears, that the State of Nature is of greater extent than is commonly thought; since not only all Nations continue in that State with respect to one another, and

every private Person of the same Society, when the Danger is too sudden to allow recourse to the Magistrate: but all Men are likewise so born, and so continue, with respect to all things they can do without prejudice to others.

2. The other Point to be examin'd into, is what Power this gives the Magistrate in matters of Religion. No body can doubt his being fully authoriz'd to punish what is evil and vicious, or contrary to Morality, and to reward what is good and virtuous. If he has Right to punish those who injure one single Person, he has no less Right, without doubt, to punish those who annoy the whole Society; whether in denying God's Existence, or that he intermeddles with the Government of Mankind, in order to reward such as endeavour the Publick Good, and to punish those who oppose it. Such a one ought to be look'd on as a common Enemy, since he undermines the Foundation whereon their Safety and Happiness are chiefly built. Such a one might be punish'd by every body in the State of Nature; consequently, the Magistrate should have a Right to punish not only all such as deny the Existence of a Deity, but also such as render his Being useless, in denying his Providence, or refusing him Worship, or that are guilty of formal Blasphemy, Profaneness, Perjury, or vain Swearing.

Religion is so necessary for the Support of human Society, that it is impossible it should subsist, as Pagans no less than Christians confess, if an invisible Power, that over-rules human Affairs, be not admitted. The Fear and Reverence that People have for such a Being, proves more effectual to make Men discharge the Dutys, whereon their Happiness on Earth depends, than all the Punishments which Magistrates can threaten. Atheists themselves can't deny this; and 'tis for this reason, that they suppose Religion a politick Contrivance, to keep Societys more easily in order. The Accounts of some barbarous Nations, that were said
to

to have no Religion at all, have been contradicted by better Accounts; or else those Nations form no Societys, and can scarce be rank'd above Beasts.

Behold here Sentiments molt true, but very *Remark of* different from Mr. Bayle's, who in his *Reflections the Author* on Comets, and in the *Continuation*, has asserted, *of the B.Cs* That Religion is not necessary to Society, and that a Commonwealth of Atheists might as well subsist, as the very best among the antient Pagans. I'll not here stand to confute this Opinion, which probably none are like to take up with, and of which, by the Blessing of God, we shall never see an Example: But it requires a great degree of Charity to believe it is with a good Intention, that he labours all he can to extenuate the Hatred which the World conceives to Atheists, tho he knows that no body approves it: If any of his Adversariys had dar'd to advance any thing like this, he would not have spar'd to draw the odious Consequences, that would have follow'd from it; and if others do not treat him after the same manner, he is beholden to the Temper of those, with whom he is concern'd; which should make him, if he has the least Prudence, forbear to be too provoking.

But let us hear our Author:

It appears hereby, says he, how absurdly they reason, who, to procure to themselves an Independent Power in Religious Matters, pretend wholly to exclude these from the Magistrate's Power; under pretence, that his Province is only to take care of the Good of the Civil Society. For he ought to concern himself in all things, which regard the Good of human Society in general; and under this denomination the most essential parts of Religion must be reckon'd: which yet, thro the Prevalence of Custom, are made to pass for Civil Matters, to distinguish them from such others as some call Religious.

Men having, for the most part, mix'd with their Religion certain Points purely speculative;

and a certain Form of serving God with stated Ceremonys, and other indifferent Matters; and being so divided among themselves, that there is scarce any Nation, which is not hereby distinguish'd from others, as well as by its Situation: The Question now is, Whether the Magistrate has any Power in this particular; which cannot be resolv'd, but by examining, Whether in the State of Nature Men have any reciprocal Power over their Actions in these Matters.

Nothing can be clearer than this, which is no more than to say, That all being under an indispensable Obligation to serve God, in the manner they judg most agreeable to his Will, and to follow the Dictates of their own Consciences in all things which concern Religion; no one can give another the Right of judging for himself: For hereby his Religion would depend absolutely on that other, who might oblige him to act against his Conscience, and against what he believes forbidden. But as no body has such a Power over himself, whereby (supposing him Fool enough to pretend it) he could authorize the Magistrate to use him ill on account of his not serving God in that manner, which the Magistrate thinks conformable to the Divine Will; so he can less give the Magistrate this Power over another: For no body wrongs his Neighbour in serving God according to his own Conscience, or in believing, or professing to believe concerning speculative Points, what he thinks right. And the only thing, that gives any one Right, in the State of Nature, to punish another, is the Wrong suffer'd from him. Further, it may be said, That whoever in this State of Nature should attempt so absurd a thing as this, or endeavour to engage others thereto, might justly be treated as a common Enemy to the Liberty of Mankind; and consequently, they who assist the present Powers in persecuting for Religion, and in taking away any one's Life, Liberty, or Goods, upon this pretext, are guilty of as great a Crime, as if

if they acted that Part themselves : The Reason whereof is, because, with respect to such Matters, Men are still in the State of Nature, and without any Representative Power to determine for them what they should believe or profess. Nor is it possible, that Men should subject themselves to any Government, but with the View of being protected in so essential a Duty, as is the serving God according to Conscience, as well as in any other thing whatever.

'Tis a great mistake to imagine, that the Magistrate's Power extends to a Right of punishing for indifferent Things : For if so, he might take away all sort of Liberty, and render himself intolerable, by hindring every one from managing their own private Concerns, as they see fit ; whereas all have a Right not only thereto, but also to form Societys as they please, for the ordering their own Concerns, or for their Pleasure ; and no body can with Justice obstruct it, as long as the Publick receives no prejudice thereby. If the Magistrate hinders any body from acting thus, he manifestly perverts the End, for which his Power was committed to him, which is the Preservation of every one's Liberty in all things, so long as they wrong not others. And for this reason, the Magistrate's Power, the Extent whereof is regulated by the End, which People propose in forming a Society, or any certain Government : For this Reason, I say, this Power extends not to things indifferent ; but only to those, wherein the Publick is interested. And I rank in this number the Determination of all those things, which the good of the Society permits not to be left in Uncertainty. So that tho Conscience was not concern'd in the Way and Manner of worshipping God ; yet the Magistrate has no Right to deprive Men of their Liberty in this respect, but is oblig'd to protect them in that Form of Worship, which themselves chuse, as well as in all other indifferent Matters.

But

But because the Doctrine of Persecution is, notwithstanding all this, maintain'd by such as have Regard only to their own By-Interests, and act with particular Views, 'tis fit to add something hereunto. It is contrary to the Honour of God, and also to the Good of Mankind, that the Power of Men should exceed its stated Bounds. For God, who requires nothing impossible to Men, demands no more of us at present, than a just and sincere Inquiry after our Dutys: And provided we afterwards demean our selves conformably to such Inquiry, we shall never fail of his Acceptance. Men ought also to be satisfy'd with us in this respect, since they have no Right to annex Rewards and Punishments to things, which include nothing of Morality; because this tends to obstruct Peoples performing that great Duty, of never embracing a Religion without Examination.

For it's manifest, that Men being made capable of chusing their Religion, they are diverted from impartially examining such Opinions as have Rewards annex'd to them, only for fear they should be found false; and from carefully considering those which carry Punishments along with them, for fear they should be found true: consequently every one ought to beware how he annexes Rewards or Punishments to Opinions. And the Magistrate ought to treat all his Subjects alike, tho ever so much differing from his own or others Sentiments in these Matters. A Conduct contrary hereto must needs prejudice those who have not yet chose their Religion (at least with Knowledg of its prime Cause) and must needs make Hypocrites, in the most solemn Acts of Religion, among those who have already made their Choice; and who, without these Obstacles, would for the most part, have done it with more Sincerity.

There is no need to shew how injurious it is to the Deity, to embrace blindly all that is said of it, or to serve it in a manner, which one thinks

unacceptable to it; but I maintain, That it is not less contrary to the Good of human Society, since the Bonds of Conscience being dissolv'd by a continual Dissimulation, People are thereby dispos'd to commit all sorts of Villany. When it goes not thus, it falls out, that they, whom the Commonwealth ought chiefly to protect, that is to say, Persons of Conscience, are expos'd to suffer ill Usage, or constrain'd to take Arms to defend their natural Rights, which no human Power can take from them; whence it comes to pass, that Violence, which ought never to be employ'd, but to prevent a greater Ill than it self, is upon this Occasion follow'd with most fatal Consequences.

To prevent these, the Magistrate may punish those who preach up Persecution, as justly as he may punish all that persuade People to commit Theft, or Murder, and other like Crimes: For it is the utmost Depravity of the human Mind, to cause those to suffer, who guide themselves by the best Rule afforded 'em, in the Choice of those Opinions, which appear best in their Judgments, and without which they can't be good Subjects either to God or Man. Persecutors alone, unmov'd by Pity, or any other Considerations, which frequently disarm other Criminals, continue their Crueltys not only till they have made Men lose all Sense of Virtue, by destroying Conscience, the greatest Security which Men can have from one another; but also till they blaspheme and outrage God himself, by a horrid Dissimulation. So that Persecution includes all Crimes imaginable, in destroying the End of Religion, the Honour of God, and the Good of Mankind as well future as present: consequently the Magistrate ought to punish all, who teach a Doctrine so pernicious; nay, he should not suffer any to have either Ecclesiastical or Civil Preferments, till they had expressly renounc'd it.

This

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the Author
of the B.C.*

This is excellent Advice, and, being follow'd, would put an end to infinite Disorders; which the Powers themselves, whose Interest it is to quell them, do yet visibly encourage, in rewarding Persecutors, either thro Weakness, or otherwise; and in suffering the more moderate to perish thro Want, or at least to live and die in Obscurity. The Heart of Man being so fram'd, as all the World knows, that People will always follow the Party which has Rewards on its side, and be asham'd of, and abhor that which is attended with Misery and Contempt; it shou'd not excuse, that they don't actually persecute. There ought to be no Favour shewn to those who harbour the Principle, and promote it as much as they can. God will require no less account for the Evil, which People suffer to be done when they could prevent it, than for what they actually do: And he will equally punish 'em for not doing the Good which was in their power, as for that which might have been in their power, had they us'd their Endeavours.

But it will be inquir'd here, says our Author, in case the Conscience of any Man makes him act so, as the Good of the Society requires he should be restrain'd by Force, whether the sacred Rights of Conscience bind the Magistrate's hands? It's answer'd, First, That Atheism, intirely destroying Conscience, can't pretend to be tolerated, under pretext that it cannot with a good Conscience follow other People's Opinions. Moreover, 'tis the Doctrine of Persecution alone, that makes Men act like Devils for the Honour of God; and I see not, that without this Doctrine any such case can happen: But supposing it should, the Magistrate may employ his Power to restrain them from doing mischief; because, as Men in the State of Nature have Right, and also are oblig'd in Conscience, to defend themselves against those who attack 'em, altho the Aggressors pretend Conscience, they have also Right
to

to invest the Magistrate with that Power, as well as with any other they devolve upon him ; else all Criminals would defend themselves by the same pretext. Not but if these, here spoken of, have done all they could to be better instructed, they may be innocent before God ; yet this hinders not the Magistrate from discharging his Duty in protecting his Subjects : but still he has no pretence to employ Force when no body is wrong'd, even when Conscience is out of the Case, and much less when Conscience is concern'd, as appears from the Reasons already given. So that the Magistrate's Power regards only such Religious Matters as are also Civil, that is, wherein the Publick it self is interested.

To go yet somewhat further : If any imagine, that the Sovereign has a Right to use Force to propagate Truth within his State ; it must be also suppos'd, that he has the Right of judging, for his Subjects, what is true, and that they are oblig'd to conform themselves to his Decisions. For the Right to punish People, because they don't submit thereto, necessarily supposes, that the Sovereign has a Right to judg for them.

Yet it can't be said, That the Sovereign has a Right to determine for the People, what is true or false in Matters of Religion : For then it would follow, that as often as the Sovereign chang'd his Opinion in any point of Religion, which very frequently happens, the People must change theirs too, or be guilty of Rebellion, and liable to be punish'd as such. But none will yield this Consequence : For thus an Heretical Prince would have Right to punish the Orthodox ; and a Mahometan, or even a Pagan Prince, might treat Christians ill, and yet they must not complain. There is nothing more manifest. And 'tis the same thing, if Ecclesiasticks are substituted in the Sovereign's room : For if a Synod has Right to judg what the People ought to believe, and none may refuse to admit its Decisions, whatever

Opinion the Synod may be of, it must be entertain'd without examining into it. When that determines Images ought not to be worshipped, People ought to refrain ; and when they determine the contrary, as it fell out in the East, during the Controversy about Images, they must be worshipped. There is not a Society of Christians now in being, which would avow in general, that the Subjects of any State whatever are oblig'd in Conscience, to submit themselves entirely to the Decisions either of their Sovereign, or of the Ecclesiasticks of the Country, lest they should condemn themselves ; but there are divers Societys however, which exercise, as Right, what they dare not grant to others, and do that themselves, which they condemn in others.

As to the Question, whereto our Author has answer'd with a little more Warmth ; there may an Example be given thereof in the *Indian Macassars*, whom the Voyages of *Siam* speak of, and who from a furious Zeal for Mahometism, sometimes slay all that come in their Way. These People are to be condemn'd by God and Man ; because they examine not whether their Zeal be well grounded or not ; and because they assume a Right over the Lives of others which they have not, and which they would not that others should exercise on them. 'Tis manifest, that People have a Right to oppose with Force all of this sort, whatever Principle they act by : And if it can be suppos'd, that such People have done all they could to examine their Religion and Deportment ; and have thereupon judg'd, that they ought to act in such a manner ; yet still People would not have less Right to defend themselves against them : and if God pardons them, 'tis as he pardons Fools and Madmen. The same Answer may be given, if they are suppos'd so stupid, as to be incapable of forming any Idea of Morality. Reasonable People have a Right to guard themselves against these, as against Savage Beasts, and God will deal with them as their Stupidity

dity deserves. 'Tis not however, that I grant one or other of these Suppositions: For I don't think there is a People living in Society, who have no Idea of Justice and Equity, and who might not be condemn'd by the same Ideas; but this is not a Place to treat of that Subject. Let us hear what the Author adds in his following Discourse.

There's no need, says he, of a greater Power than I have here yielded, to attain the Ends propos'd by Government; since hereby the Magistrate has a Right, when the Good of the Society requires it, to deprive any whatever, whether Laick or Ecclesiastick, of the Church's Communion, by Banishment, Imprisonment, or Death. He may send them to Places, where there is no Exercise of the Christian Religion, when the Good of the State requires it, and oblige them further to fight against such as are of the same Religion with themselves: which makes it appear, that the Publick Good is the Sovereign Law, that all Considerations ought to give way to it; and that no Ecclesiastick can be independent of the Magistrate. So that there cannot be two Independent Authoritys in the same Society. And further, the Magistrate has a Power over Men assembled for the Worship of God, as well as for any other Purpose. The Supreme Authority, far from having a Right to treat People ill, is oblig'd to protect them against all the Ill that is offer'd them, so long as they do nothing prejudicial to the Civil Society; but more especially, if their Assemblys tend to promote the publick Good, as theirs do who meet to serve God according to their Consciences.

It may be said, moreover, in some respect, That the Magistrate's Power is greater with reference to the Church, than to other Societys: Because no more is requir'd of these, than that they maintain no Principle contrary to the Common Good; but in the Church, Care should be taken, that such Principles be taught as tend to the Welfare of the State; and for that end, that Ministers be establish'd for

instructing People publickly to avoid every thing which the Magistrate has right to restrain by force, and to do every thing which the Good of the Society requires, and deserves reward : For this last Power is less than that of punishing and rewarding, and tends to the same end. Nothing is more absurd, than to deprive the Magistrate of the right to authorize publick Persons to admonish him of the Duty he owes his Subjects, and his Subjects of their Duty to him, and to support their Remonstrances by the Reasons and Motives on which these Duties are founded. Nothing can hinder him from laying these Charges on Persons, who have otherwise no sort of Jurisdiction in matters of this nature ; And as the Magistrate may establish Ministers for this purpose, so he may discharge or silence them, if they perform not their Duty, or demean themselves contrary to the end for which they were establish'd.

* The Author here means Ecclesiastical Preferments, and such as are appropriated for the use of those, who perform some Publick Office in the Church, and not their temporal Estates.

If Ministers acquire more * Riches than consist with the Interest of the State (as it may fall out) the Magistrate has a right to redress this Abuse. The reason is, that Men entring into Political Societies, necessarily subject their Estates to such Laws as the Magistrate shall make for the Publick Good ; and consequently he may prevent People's disposing of their Estates in a manner which redounds to the Prejudice of the Publick, and to adjudg such Dispositions void. The same reason that obliges them to make Statutes of *Mortmain* and other Laws, against such Dispositions as People would make in favor of Ecclesiasticks, allows 'em to take away what has been given. But the Good of the Society being the only Reason, which gives Magistrates a Power over their Subjects Estates, there appears no reason, why they shoud be depriv'd of any part thereof for the promoting of Opinions among 'em, which have no relation to the Publick Good. As 'tis not to be presum'd, that any one, in entring into Civil Society, should design to give the Magistrate Power to deprive him of any part of his Estate for the Maintenance of Opinions, which no ways relate to the Benefit of the Publick, and which are with-

al, as he thinks, prejudicial to his Soul ; so no Person having under this pretext a Power over the Estate of any other, can give his Representatives more Power than himself had. For my part I see not how their Reasoning is to be answer'd, who say, it may as well be presum'd, that the Members of a Society have empower'd the Legislature to chuse speculative Opinions for 'em, as to take a part of their Estates for the Maintenance of such Opinions ; and that if it be the highest Injustice to constrain People to profess speculative Opinions, which they don't believe, there is no more Justice in making them contribute to maintain them ; particularly, if it be consider'd, that they have no other effect than to promote Superstition in a great part of the World.

Besides this, when great Advantages are annexed to such Opinions, it not only happens, that Ecclesiasticks take them up, whatever they be, and invent a thousand Sophisms and disingenuous Subtilties to maintain them, to the Prejudice of Truth ; but Humanity also becomes in a manner extinct among Christians, who are hereby divided into different Sects, and whose Ecclesiasticks burn with implacable hatred towards those who are not of their opinion, and endeavor to raise the like Passions in their Hearers. Nor is it to be doubted, that this is the Cause which makes Christians treat one another with so much Barbarity, if it be consider'd, that such Effects arise not from a Difference in those Opinions where the Clergy have no Interest.

This is all the Power which Men can give the Magistrate, in matters of Religion. And what is not included within these Bounds, is not under any human Powers, but remains in the State of Nature, and depends only on God and Conscience. For, in fine, Religion does not descend from Father to Son, by Inheritance, as Land does ; but every one, when he is capable, ought to chuse what Church he'll be of : and the only Motive which should determine Men herein, is the Salvation of their Souls ; for they are oblig'd, tho all human Powers command the contrary,

trary, to join with that Church which appears most likely to lead 'em to Salvation. For the same reason, they ought to leave other Churches, and by consequence they have an unalienable Right to judg of the Conditions, whereby People are admitted to the Communion of any Church, before they enter into it. 'Tis not because they were Members yesterday, that therefore they are so to day, but because they continue to approve the Doctrine of that Church; unless it might be suppos'd, that Churches are like *Traps*, which have an easy Entrance, but when People are once in, they must for ever after abide there, either for the Pleasure or Advantage of the *Trap-setters*. So that all Men, in their forming Societys for the Worship of God, are in the State of Nature; and neither Prince nor Priest have more Power over a Peasant, than a Peasant has over them, but they ought alike to be govern'd by the same Motive. And altho Churches can no more than any other voluntary Societys, assemble together, while the Members agree not on a certain Place, on Persons to officiate, and other like Circumstances; yet no Person has a right to prescribe herein to any other, and every one for himself has a Right to a Negative Vote, in such sort as leaves a perfect Equality: For no Person has more Power over another, than that other has over him. And every one should judg for himself concerning what passes of this nature, not only when he joins himself to any Church, but also afterwards.

So that if the Determination, whereon it is thought necessary to form an Assembly for serving God, must be call'd *Ecclesiastical Government*, there can be none more Popular than such a one: For no one is hereby oblig'd to comply with the Majority of Votes, but they, who are not satisfy'd with one Assembly, may form another after the best manner they can; for our Lord has promis'd, *That where two or three are gathered together in his Name, he will be in the midst of them.* Nay, the thing it self is not to be otherwise understood, without destroying

stroying the very Essence of a Church ; for whoever assemble upon any other Motive, than of serving God after the manner they judg most conformable to his Will, deserve not the Name of a Church, but rather an Assembly met together to make a Mockery of Divine Service.

'Tis not to be doubted, but all this is *strictly* *Remark of the Author of the B.C.* true, and agreeable to the Principles of the Reformation, which could not have been lawfully made, but upon these Foundations. Every one must confess thus much, that reflects ever so little on this matter. But it ought to be consider'd, that Men and the Societys they form, cannot long keep close in all things to the rigorous Observation of the most fundamental Laws, on which their Societys are founded. So that in Civil Society, which is without doubt founded on Mens free Consent in the State of Nature, many things soon creep in, which are contrary to the first Institution ; and if Men could be reduc'd thereto without Tumults and Sedition, it would be well, no doubt, to do it as often as there is need for it. But as Customs once rooted are not easily chang'd, and that often great Disorders are occasion'd by attempting to reform them, things of this nature should not be hastily undertaken. It ought *1st*, to be consider'd, Whether the Good intended to Society is more considerable, than the Ill it would suffer in endeavoring to procure that Good. *2^{ly}*, Whether the Methods taken to attain that End are practicable, and there be an appearance of succeeding. In case it be impossible, or so very difficult to succeed, that in human Prudence a Man cannot promise himself a Change for the better, and that the Society is like to suffer a greater Ill for the curing of a less ; it would favour of Rashness, and also of Injustice, to attempt to redress such an Ill. If we ought to aspire at Perfection, we are nevertheless to prefer a tolerable Condition before a general Confusion, which one does not know but may probably happen. 'Tis the very same in an Ecclesiastical Society ; 'twere to be wish'd, that things

things went therein according to the Ideas of the most correct Reason. But if there are no means, humanly speaking, of remedying intirely the Disorders there seen ; and if, in attempting to reform them, Christians would receive more Prejudice, than they cou'd expect Good from the intended Reformation, 'tis better to leave things as they are, and to have a tolerable Church than none at all. There is also a third Consideration, which is, that People are often govern'd with more ease, and better by one Form of Government, to which they are inur'd, altho defective, than by a better, to which they are not accustom'd. And in this case it would be ill to make a Change ; because, in point of Practice, the question is not, what is best, consider'd simply in it self ; but what will prevail most on any certain People towards attaining the End of Ecclesiastical Government, that is to say, of Piety and Virtue. 'Tis this that makes People comply with many things, which otherwise they would have no regard to. All that any can do, is to admonish Christians of their Disorders by Discourse and Books, to the end they may correct themselves by little and little, if possible ; and that the Ideas of Perfection, at which we ought to aim, be not quite lost. And if there be any Christian Societys, which will not bear such Animadversion, however made, as others think they need, they are to be abandon'd, as People infected with Tyranny, and others sought after. But before it comes to this, People ought to examine what they are doing, lest they fall from a lesser Ill into a greater, which often happens. I don't doubt, but an Author of such Ability and Penetration as the present, maturely considers all this : Let us now see the Course of his Reasoning.

One thing, says he, which has not a little contributed to make Men believe there is such a Government by Judges and supreme Tribunals, in Religious as in Civil Affairs, is, That the Magistrate annexes Preferments and other Advantages to the Teachers of his own Religion, exclusive of all others ; and
that

that he names Persons to admit such as pretend to these Employments, on certain stated Conditions, or to depose them on certain occasions. The chief of the Clergy being herein the Magistrate's Deputys, and the greatest part of 'em of the Religion which has Profit annex'd to it, say, *That the Laws establish their Religion and their Church*; and treat those who separate from them as Schismatics, pretending they are damn'd who are not of the Religion establish'd by Law. But whatever noise the Clergy make hereupon, none ought, for that reason, to lose the Right of judging for himself in Matters of Religion, unless he would in all Countrys be of the Religion to which these Profits are annex'd. If any Magistrate has a Right of judging to what Religion these Profits should be annex'd, all other Magistrates ought to have the same Right; and consequently, this Motive ought to be no more in one Country than in another, the Reason why any should embrace the Magistrate's Religion.

As to what remains, there are no Reasons, that the Clergy can make use of to exclude the Magistrate from Ecclesiastical Affairs, which are not altogether as strong in favor of natural Right against them. If Ecclesiasticks have a Right to prescribe Conditions, upon which People are to be admitted to Communion; does not Religion depend as much on them, as it would on the Magistrate, if he had such a Power? If the Right to oblige People to acquiesce in an Exposition of the Scripture, be the same as to make a new Scripture, is there any Sect subject to Error, that can sovereignly expound it? In fine, no Person can have a Right to a certain End, without a like Right to make use of the Means necessary to attain it; so, if Men are oblig'd to serve God after that manner they think most agreeable to his Will, they must needs have an unalienable Right to regulate all they think necessary there-to: otherwise they must be oblig'd to serve God in a manner they believe disagreeable to him, when they who govern them by Divine Right command

it ; or else to continue without any Worship, if these Governors will not enact certain things, without which Divine Service cannot be perform'd. 'Tis not to be pretended, That tho these Rights be in the Clergy, yet in this case they return to the People : For nothing can return to them, that was not in them before. The Civil Power might urge somewhat like this, but the Clergy cannot ; because they pretend not to hold their Rights of the People.

Nothing can be more absurd than to maintain, That there ought to be two Independent Powers in a Society ; That otherwise Christianity could not have subsisted, when the Magistrate was not Christian : For before the Coming of Jesus Christ, all Religious Societys which were not of the Magistrate's Belief, like so many Synagogues of the Jews spread thro the *Roman Empire*, subsisted by their natural Right, without e'er dreaming of what People call *Imperium in Imperio*. Assemblys, which are not of the Magistrate's Faith, can preserve themselves in like manner by their natural Right ; so that 'tis altogether vain to talk of Power, independent and distinct from the natural Rights of the People, as if it was necessary for the Preservation of the Church.

But the Pretences of the Clergy ought here to be noted in few words, who commonly maintain, That God has establish'd two Governments independent of one another ; one for Ecclesiastical Matters, and t'other for Civil : That each of these Governments has a Legislative and an Executive Power, without which they could not subsist : That the Ecclesiastical Government belongs to the Clergy by a Right that admits no Change, which they derive from Christ and his Apostles, and which they ought to enjoy to the end of the World : That by virtue of this spiritual Empire, Ecclesiasticks have a Right to make Laws, not only in things indifferent, such as Ceremonys, but also in points of Faith ; or to determine what People ought to believe and profess : That they can constrain People to obey their Orders, by means of Eccle-

Ecclesiastical Censures, the Effects whereof, say they, are infinitely more to be dreaded than all the Punishments of Civil Power ; since 'tis no less than shutting Heaven-Gates, and delivering over to Satan such as are so unhappy as to incur these Censures : That as no Person can be admitted into the Church but by them, they have also a Right to exclude such as they judg ought to be excluded, and to oblige other Christians to avoid having any Commerce with them : That for the exercising their Jurisdiction, they can establish Judges, cite Witnesses, and do what they judg fit to maintain it : That they are the only Judges, under God, of the Extent of their Jurisdiction ; and that consequently they can excommunicate their spiritual Subjects, for every thing which they judg a Contempt of their Authority, a Contumacy, or Disobedience : That they have a great advantage above the Laity, because they are capable of the highest Employes, as well Civil as Ecclesiastical ; whereas it would be an impious Usurpation, and a horrid Sacrilege, in those who have not the Holy Spirit given them by Imposition of Hands of the true Successors of the Apostles, to exercise any Jurisdiction, or Office Ecclesiastical : That all that the Laity can do herein, is void of it self, because they han't the Call ; which cannot be given, but by those who succeed in a right Line from the Apostles.

The Consequence hereof is, That their Authority is the most Absolute, the most Arbitrary, the most Unlimited, and the most Unaccountable of any among Men : For in being thus vested without the Intervention of the People, or those who represent them, they can never be call'd to account for their Male-Administration ; seeing they depend only on God, from whom they receive their Power.

This is the Opinion, which the Author pretends to confute in ten Chapters, which are full of Matter, and deserve to be read with care ; of which I shall only here give the Contents, because I have not room enough to speak of them at large, and that it is

much better to read the Original : The Author then undertakes to make appear,

1. *That there cannot be two Independent Powers in the same Society.*
2. *That the Spiritualities which Clergymen claim, are either such as are peculiar to the Divine Nature, or else were only bestow'd on the Apostles : And that both these serve 'em as a Pretence for invading the Rights of the People, and of their Representatives.*
3. *That the Clergy's pretending to have a Right to exclude People from the Church of Christ, is as absurd, as their claiming a Power to debar 'em from the publick Worship is uncharitable : And that this Custom was borrow'd from the Heathen Priests, particularly the Druids ; whereby they have acquir'd to themselves an Unlimited Authority. Of the Advantages they gain'd by it.*
4. *That 'tis inconsistent with the Reason, Design and End of Ecclesiastical Discipline, that there shou'd be any particular Immutable Form of it, or any Set of Persons with an Unalterable Right to manage it ; but that Men are oblig'd, according to the Circumstances they are under, to alter and vary all things relating to it, as they judg most conducing to the End for which that was instituted.*
5. *The Clergy's endeavouring at an Independent Power, not only prevents the further spreading of the Gospel, but is the cause of its having already lost so much ground.*
6. *That the Clergy's claiming an Independent Power, is of all things the most destructive to the Interest of Religion, and is the Cause of those Corruptions under which Christianity labours.*
7. *That this Hypothesis of an Independent Power in any Set of Clergymen, makes all Reformation unlawful, except where they who are suppos'd to have this Power do consent.*
8. *That the Clergy's pretending to an Independent Power, has been the Occasion of infinite Mischief*

to the Christian World, and is utterly inconsistent with the Happiness of Human Societys.

9. *That this Hypothesis of none being capable of governing the Church except Bishops, and that none can be Bishops except those who derive their Power by a continu'd and uninterrupted Succession in the Catholick Church from the Apostles, destroys the very Being of the Church.*
10. *That the Catholick Church consists of several Bodys independent on each other; and that none of these have Power to make Clergymen except for themselves: and that the contrary Opinion necessarily supposes a Universal Bishop or Pope.*

The Author, who is said to be a Civilian, maintains all this by several Reasonings, several Examples, and several Authoritys of *English* Writers and others; and pleads his Cause with great Strength. There has not been a Book on this Subject wrote with so much Force and fine Reasoning; wherein the Proofs of what is advanc'd are taken from the first Principles, on which both Civil and Ecclesiastical Societys are founded.

As to what remains, the Author thinks he may justly hope, that none will blame him, that, as a Man, he has defended the Natural Rights of Mankind; nor that, as a Christian, he has endeavour'd to cut up Antichristian Priestcraft by the Roots. He imagines, that all true Protestants will approve his Endeavors to maintain, in their full Extent, the Foundations whereon the Reformation is built, and to re-unite the Spirits of Protestants, who live under different Forms of Government.

He believes also, That the National Church of *England* must approve his Design; because 'tis the only Method that can justify its Constitution, which supposes the Clergy to depend on the Royal Authority.

As to those, who are not of his Opinion, they ought not, he thinks, to take it ill, that they have an Opportunity given them to refute his Reasonings:
For

For if they have Truth on their side, 'twill prove a Means to render it triumphant. The more Truth is search'd into, the more it shines, especially if such as defend it have the Advantages of Sense and Learning. If any Ecclesiasticks should go about to blacken him, he recommends himself to the Protection of the Laity, whose Interest he defends, and who have reason to encourage those, who can write on this Subject, to do their utmost in defence of Publick Liberty.

There should yet be somewhat more said of the Preface, which is long, and particularly relates to the Constitution of the Church of *England*. If the Clergy form a particular and Independent Government; 'tis necessary, according to this Author, that they have Power, 1st, To make Laws. 2^{ly}, To execute them. 3^{ly}, To transmit this Power to their Successors. He pretends to make appear, that by the Laws and Customs of *England*, the Clergy, at least since the Time of *H. 8.* have neither the Authority to make Laws, or execute them, nor yet to give any such Authority to others, without the Order and express Consent of King and Parliament, without which nothing can have the Force of a Law in *England*.

There are here a great many smart Strokes against the *High-Churchmen*, whom he makes to pass for *Jacobites*, and for People who have a great Inclination for a new kind of Popery: He applies to these a fine Saying of my Lord *Falkland*, taken out of *Rushworth's Collections*, Vol. 4. p. 184. "As Sir *Tho. More*, said he, says of the Caluists, Their Business was not to keep Men from sinning, but to inform them how nigh they might venture without becoming guilty, *Quam prope ad peccatum sine peccato liceat accedere*; so it seems their Work (meaning the Prelates in the time of *C. 1.*) was to try how much of a Papist might be brought in without Popery, and to destroy as much as they could of the Gospel, without bringing themselves into danger of being destroy'd by Law. The Author quotes certain

certain Passages out of *English* Books which I have never seen; but if they are quoted faithfully, there are People in *England*, who carry the Ecclesiastical Pretensions higher in a Protestant Kingdom, than the *Gallican* Church does in a *Popish*: Their Projects can ne'er succeed without overturning every thing, and without falling into a worse Estate than People suffer in any *Popish* Country: These People, if they had the upper hand, would excommunicate Kings who displeas'd them, and place others in their rooms, as their Behaviour, in refusing to take the Oaths, makes sufficiently appear. 'Tis probable, that our Author aims only at this sort of Men, and that he has no design against *the Church establish'd by Law*. In my Opinion she has nothing to fear from his Book, which maintains throughout, that the Civil Society has a Right to chuse her own Ecclesiastical Government; so that Episcopal Government, being establish'd by the Laws of *England*, it must continue as long as those Laws. And there's no likelihood, that they'l be chang'd in this respect: They, who make but small account of these Laws, and who fear that if Ecclesiastical Government be not otherwise founded, it will soon totter, don't sufficiently reflect on the State of human Affairs. 'Tis a vain thing to preach up a *Divine Right*; if the Laws of Men are contrary to it, People will scarce gain the point of having it establish'd, as may be seen, for example, in the Protestants on this side the Water, who are no more mov'd at what the *High-Churchmen* say in *England* of *Divine Right*, than if they said not one word of it; and who readily obey the Ecclesiastical Laws enacted by the Sovereign Authority. Suppose the Reasons, brought for the *Divine Right* of Episcopal Government, are good, as they are in effect in some respects: 'Tis difficult to make People comprehend 'em, who yet easily comprehend the Sovereign's Will thereupon, and cheerfully obey, when accusom'd to it. For my part, I comprehend not, that there's more Danger of *England's* becoming Presbyterian, than of

Holland's

Holland's becoming Episcopal ; and there's not a Man among us who would not stake all he's worth, that this will never happen in *Holland*, unless the Government be wholly overturn'd by a foreign Power. As 'tis here the Interest of the State, that things should remain in the Condition they are, so 'tis in *England* ; and 'twould be unjust to disturb the State of the Church with new Opinions, the Consequences of which are dangerous, and such as few will venture upon, under pretence of preventing an Ill, which may never happen. After all, they must be Men who wou'd introduce Opinions contrary to the Laws in being ; and another set of Men might as well pretend a Right of changing these, if they thought fit.

The true Expedient to prevent a Change in any Form of Government, is to take care that Abuses do not creep into it ; or if they do, that they be redrest as soon as possible ; that Persons of Merit be prefer'd, and not Flatterers, who have no other Quality to recommend them than that of making Court to those who can prefer 'em : And besides, that no such Measure of Credulity be requir'd, as that People should put out their Eyes for any other's Pleasure ; and in fine, that the Ecclesiasticks be oblig'd to live so, as the Laity should have reason to honour them.

Our Author relates a notable Saying of a Clergyman, who presented his Book of the *Contempt of the Clergy* to the late Ld *Hallifax*, who told him, he had forgot the principal Cause of the Clergy's Contempt, *i. e.* That the Laity were much enlightned : to which this Divine reply'd very frankly, *God be prais'd, there is yet Ignorance enough among the Laity to support the Authority of the Clergy.* Quite contrary, 'twere better the Clergy cou'd stand the strictest Examination of the most Enlightned among the Laity : They might rest assur'd, that no body wou'd think of changing the least matter in Ecclesiastical Discipline, so long as it was tolerable ; the ill Conduct of any Ministry is ordinarily the principal Cause which makes People desire a change in Government.

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LETTER

TO THE

Reverend Dr. *Moss*,

In Behalf of

*The RIGHTS of the
Christian Church.*

Together with

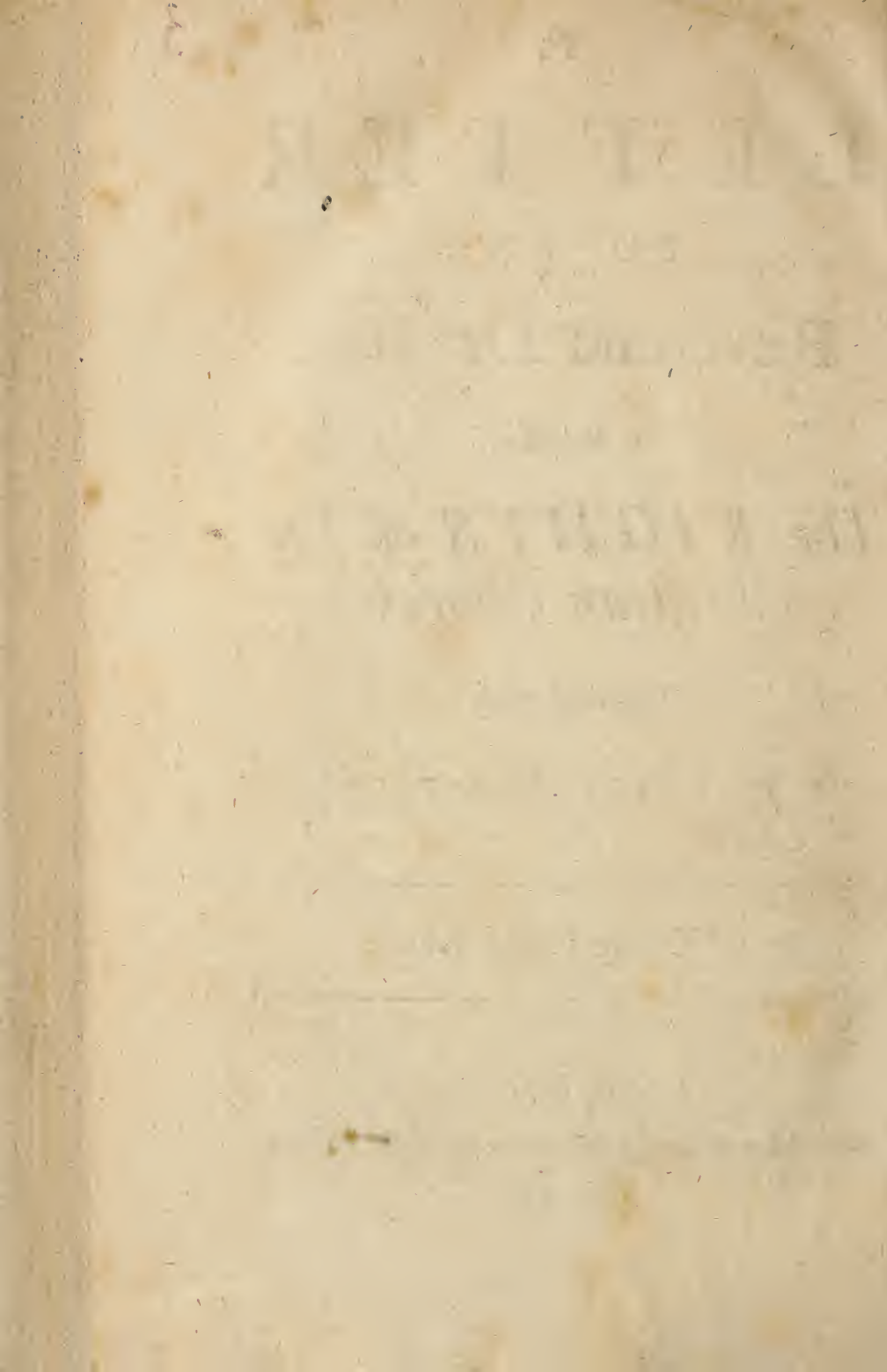
A POETICK RHAPSODY.

By a Young Oxford-Scholar.

L O N D O N,

Printed for B. Bragg in Paternoster-Row. 1709.

Price 1 d.



April 30. 1709.

Reverend Sir,

HAVING lately taken the first Degree in Arts at *Oxford*, I have now given myself the Pleasure, which I had long desir'd, of seeing *London*. 'Twas not for the sake of the Play-Houses and Opera's, but to view the Stateliness and Opulency of the City, the Magnificence of the publick Buildings, and the Grandeur of the Court: nor was I without hopes of gratifying a strong Inclination of hearing the *London Divines* (for whose Character I had a great esteem) preach to so wise and worthy a People as I take the Citizens to be. And 'twas my good fortune to hear you (whose good Name I had learnt from publick Fame) preach your Lecture at *St. Lawrence*, when you took an opportunity to shew no small dislike of a Book call'd *the Rights of the Christian Church*, &c. This Book I would have read before I came from my Chamber in *Oxford*, but could not get it: whether it was so slighted there, that it was not worth the Bookseller's while to send it thither, as some said; or whether they were bought up in private with great eagerness, as others affirm'd, I know not: but being now arm'd by the Resentment you shew'd against it, I resolv'd to venture upon reading it, notwithstanding all the Heterodoxys it might contain. As soon as I had read over the Preface, I made a stand for Recollection; and hop'd that all I had read had been very bad indeed: being willing to have found out twenty Mysterys of Iniquity in it, or at least that the Author had been a mere Shatt (as some have said)

and had wrote nothing to any purpose. But you cannot imagine how much I was surpriz'd to find upon review, that all his Design was to support the Religion by Law establish'd, against all Religions which have no such Establishment. Then thought I, either Dr. *Moss* is of the Religion by Law establish'd, or of a Religion not by Law establish'd: if he be of the Religion by Law establish'd, he is of the same Religion defended in the Preface to the *Rights*, &c. but if he be of a Religion by no Law establish'd, what Religion is he of then? For my part I think 'tis fit for every body to receive the Religion of his Country, if it be (as ours is) a good Religion: and this I learnt at School from the beginning of *Pythagoras's* Golden Verses, viz.

Ἀθανάτους μὲν πρῶτα θεὸς νόμον ὧς διδάσκειται
 Τίμα· i. e. *Worship the Immortal Gods in that manner which is by Law establish'd.*

And my Father (who is an honest Country Gentleman, and now call'd a *High-Churchman*, because he differs from the Whigs in some *State-Principles*) laid his Commands on me always to adhere to the present Church by Law establish'd. But if this Church grows out of fashion in *London*, I do not know how it should be kept up in the Country, which is apt to follow the Mode of the City: and therefore, Doctor, I think 'tis not well for a *London* Divine to set himself against the Rights and legal Establishments of the Christian Church of *England*, which were enacted by Law at our Reformation from Popery. 'Tis too late to think of trimming back towards Popery. I do not see why our Clergy should compliment the Church of *Rome* so far, as to own to have receiv'd their Holy Orders from thence. I should not doubt to profess before
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 our

our Worthy and Learned Professor of Theology, if he were in his Chair, that our Parliamentary Religion is better than all their Popish Superstitions. If you will lay aside the legal Establishment, why may not a Popish Priest read Mass at *London*, as well as you read Common-Prayer? All our Church-Authority and Jurisdiction is by Law establish'd, and so are all our chief Church-Officers: for instance, why is that Noble and Worthy Prelate Dr. *Compton* Bishop of *London*, and not of *Oxford*, as once he was formerly? 'tis only because he was legally translated from one Diocess to the other. He has no Divine Right to the Bishoprick of *London* now, nor had he any such Right to *Oxford* before. Suppose you had a mind to a Bishoprick or a Deanery, would you not have it by Law? What, would you steal it, or take it by force? *The Rights of the Christian Church* shews that it was declar'd in 37 Hen. 8. cap. 17. *That Ecclesiastical Persons have no manner of Jurisdiction, but by and under the King's Majesty.* And I do not doubt, but that you, or any worthy Clergyman, would be willing to accept an Episcopal Jurisdiction by and under the Queen, without claiming an Independency from, or a Co-ordination with the Supreme Civil Power: And that which makes me think thus of you, is because I have read that excellent Sermon which you preach'd on the 30th of *January* to the Honourable House of Commons; wherein you shew your Abhorrence of the execrable Tragedy of that Day, which was grounded only upon the Notion of a Power independent of, or at least co-ordinate with the Supreme Civil Power, which was vested in the King: so that you are the last Man who can be suspected of promoting either the old Popish, or old *Scotish* Doctrine, of a Power co-ordinate with the King's Sovereignty. I remember I read a Play

call'd *the Tempest*, where two People being cast away at Sea, swim to an Island of which Duke *Stephano* claim'd the Sovereignty, which was agreed to by Duke *Trincalo*, only with this Proviso, that he would be Vice-Roy above him. I remember in that Island there was no living Creature but *Sycorax* a Monster, who was a fit Subject for such a Government: Two Independent Powers in one Political, or even Oeconomical Society, will produce a monstrous (I cannot say Government, but) Confusion. And this is what *the Rights of the Church* endeavours to contravene.

Truly, Doctor, I lik'd the Preface and the Book so well, that I inquir'd if the Author of it had written any thing else; and hearing that *An Essay concerning the Power of the Magistrate and the Rights of Mankind in Matters of Religion*, was adjudg'd to the same Author, I could not forbear to read that Book likewise with great satisfaction; wherein is prov'd, that since no Man can shew a Commission from Heaven for his being a Magistrate upon Earth, therefore all Magistracy must arise from the Consent of Men, who in all Nations have shap'd their respective Governments suitable to their own Conveniences and Inclinations: as appears by the Experience of all Ages, of which we have any account in Story. Now from hence it may appear, that the Magistrate's Power, tho' extended to all such Dutys which Men owe to one another, in order to the Welfare of the Society, yet does not reach so far as to *impose* Articles of Faith or Forms of Divine Worship, because these Matters concern only a Man's own Soul with relation to God alone: So that if Sincerity in the Worship of God be a Duty, to force Conscience in that point must be a Sin; and if God requires every Man to judge for himself in those Matters, 'tis plain that he has
not

not requir'd nor impower'd the Magistrate to judge for them. For what can be more absurd, than that in judging of those Matters wherein we chiefly differ from Brutes, we should be subject to brutal Force? Let Force take the place of Judgment, and all Religions will be alike, and no more distinguishable than Colours in the dark.

I cannot but think that the Writer of these two Books is a Doctor of Divinity, as you are; and I am always sorry to find that great Doctors do not agree with one another: but more especially when one does not approve of the good Works which another performs. Now 'twas becoming an honest *Christian* Divine, to shew first that the Civil Magistrate ought not to lay any force upon a *Christian* Man's Conscience, to compel him to any Religion which he dislikes. And then, secondly, it became a good Protestant Divine to shew, that when the Civil Magistrate had establish'd the Profession of the Christian Religion by good Laws, and provided a good Order for the Administration of all Christian Ordinances, as has been done in the Church of *England*; the Ministers of this Church should be contented with this Protestant Establishment, and not seek to derive any thing of their Ministerial Power or Character from the Church of *Rome*. But tho this Author in his *Essay upon the Power of the Civil Magistrate* has written very strongly against Persecution, yet he has not carry'd his Argument so far upon that Head, as Mr. *Bayle* in his *Philosophical Commentary on these words of the Gospel, Compel them to come in, that my House may be full*; which is lately translated out of the *French*. This Writer, who is also the Author of the *Great Critical and Historical Dictionary*, has exhausted the Topic of Persecution, and with great Exactness of Judgment answer'd all the Arguments which the Wits

of *France* have found out, to support the present *Louisian* Persecution; and particularly has baffled poor *St. Austin*, who was for compelling the *Donatists* to come into the Church, and whose Authority the Jesuits in *France* made use of for expelling the *Hugonots*: Nay, he has gone so far as to prove, that Hereticks have as much Right to persecute the Orthodox as the Orthodox them. But he who reads only our *English* Author, will be fully satisfy'd as to the butting and bounding of the Civil Magistrate's Authority; and will see the monstrous Absurdity of an Independent Clergy, to the utter Confusion of all *Italian* or *English* Popery: so that 'tis a wonder that any *English* Protestant Divine should be displeas'd with this Author's Books. Surely such Persons forget the Toleration is by Law establish'd, whereby Men have liberty to see with their own Eyes, as well as to hear with their own Ears: by virtue whereof I took the liberty to read the *Rights of the Church*, and the several *Defences* written in behalf of that Book, against which I heard you preach. Truly I think a Man may as well preach against the Statute-Book, and particularly against all those Acts of Parliament made to reform this Nation from Popery, and against the Queen's and Parliament's supreme Legislative Power, as to preach against this Writer's Books. Surely you forget that the Clergy have it not now in their power to restrain the Use of the Press to their own separate Interest, as has been done in the last Age, when (for some time) nothing might be publish'd with Allowance, but what was fit to prepare the People for Servitude of Body and Mind: and yet even in those days (as I have learnt by the Writings of that time) Sir Roger himself declar'd outwardly in behalf of the Religion by Law establish'd: and 'tis strange that the present time will
not

not bear with the same Establishment, which if it be set forth from the Authority of the Statute-Book, it must be reflected on from the Pulpit, as if the present Danger of the Church of *England* were, that it is by Law establish'd, and that the Queen is in all Causes, and over all Persons, Ecclesiastical and Civil, in these her Dominions, Supreme Moderator and Governor upon Earth ; as the Clergy are oblig'd to acknowledg in their publick Devotions, tho the Canon which obliges hereunto begins (as some have observ'd) to wear out of use.

'Tis too late, Doctor, for the Clergy to set up for an Independent Power, and to bring the Laity into a blind Submission to their Dictates ; since the Patriarch of Independency, Archbishop *Laud*, and his Party, who were very numerous, and had gain'd the King (as then was) into their measures, fail'd in that Design, to the Subversion of both Church and State ; and since all the Transactions of that Attempt, which were collected by Mr. *Rushworth*, and digested into eight large Volumes (too long for Men either of Business or Pleasure to read) are now faithfully abridg'd and publish'd, and this Abridgment has been lately read, together with my Lord *Clarendon's* History, whereby the whole and perfect Account of that Affair appears in a full Light. And since no Man now thinks himself in danger by reading Col. *Algernon Sidney's* and Mr. *Lock's Discourses of Government*, with his *Letters of Toleration* ; and since the Works of the Reverend Mr. *Samuel Johnson*, an eminent Confessor for the Church of *England*, in opposition to Tyranny and Popery, are now printing all together, what hopes remain of enslaving the Laity either to a Spiritual or Temporal Tyranny ? 'Twere this Author's judicious Writings which prepar'd the way

way for *England's* Jubilee and happy Release: he dissolv'd and scatter'd away all the Mists of Passive-Obedience, and a *de facto* Title, which were rais'd by *spiritual Wickednesses in High Places*, against the Rights of the People, and the rightful Title of the Sovereign Prince. In short, this Great Man's Writings, and those others which I have now mention'd, have put the People of *Great Britain* in possession of Themselves, both with respect to their Religious and Civil Libertys; and all the Doctors of *London* and *Oxford*, with both the Proctors, will not in this Age be able to bring a Writ of Ejection against 'em: the common People at present will not be made Propertys to the Clergy, upon any pretence of Church-Communion whatever.

So long as the Press is open, it is in vain to attempt to bring the People of *Britain* into Spiritual Slavery. The Press was the *Hercules*, who subdu'd the *Hydra* of Popery, the Downfal of that Tyranny being the first-Fruits of Printing: which was soon observ'd by the Papists, who could only then play an After-Game, by endeavouring to put a stop to the reading of Protestant Books by an *Index Expurgatorius*, wherein it was declar'd, that no good Catholick should read such Books as were nam'd in that Catalogue; but the effect hereof was, that any one who would allow himself the liberty to consult about the great Concern of his Soul in Matters of Religion, would look into the *Index*, where he might be sure to find out those Books wherein those Principles were debated, into which he had been blindly led by his Education, as some Preachers Sermons point out what Books are most disagreeable to the Designs of a particular Party. And considering that of late a strong *Gothick* Wind has blown from the Quarter of Liberty,

'tis

'tis not now a fit time for Clergymen to *culminate in the Zenith* : but a reasonable Doctor had better be contented with a good Church establish'd upon good Laws, and a good Queen to encourage it by her Bounty, and adorn it with her Example. But if what I have written shall be found insufficient to lay those Vapours which the *Rights of the Christian Church*, &c. have lately rais'd, be pleas'd to cool the Heat of your Imagination, by reading the ensuing Specimen of a Poem, in the nature of the late *Philosophical Rhapsody*.

When I pass thro the Fields, and see the Sheep
Feeding upon the tender verdant Grass,
And hear 'em calling to their wanton Lambs ;
I cannot chuse but envy them a Life,
So free from anxious Cares and fretting Pain.

They range and sport at large in Flow'ry Meads,
Near to some Chrystal Stream or Mountain high,
Whilst chearful Shepherds on their tuneful Pipes
Set forth the Praise of *Amarillis* fair,
And watchful Dogs lie scouting on the Plain,
To give th' Alarm, and chase away fly Wolves.
After I've let my Envy fix it self
A while upon this innocent Surprise,
A warbling Melody from neighbouring Groves
Diverts my Thoughts to new delightful Scenes
Of Melancholy. I lament my Fate,
Because I was not made a Nightingal,
A Thrush, a Lark, or one o'th' feather'd Choir,
Who with their chearful Notes salute the Morn,
And sing all Day the Praises of the Sun ;
Fountain of Warmth and Life, which vests the Earth
With bright Attire, and decks the Trees with Leaves,
Filling the World with Ebbs and Flows of Light.
From Bough to Bough, from Tree to Tree they fly,

And

And chirp, rejoicing in the Beams that dart,
 And gently glide among the moving Shades
 Of Branches softly rock'd by breezing Winds :
 They form no Plots, nor Politick Designs
 To cheat and undermine ; but pass their time,
 Secure in Innocence and harmless Joy.

Sometimes I think the Reptils of the Earth,
 In Stations low, more happy far than I ;
 They creep in Hollow Trees and Clefts of Rocks,
 To hunt for Food and for Divertisement ;
 They spend their Days at Ease, without being rackt
 By supernumerary Cares and Fears.
 Or if some ruder Foot of Man or Beast,
 By luckless Chance, should trample them to Death,
 Or more malicious Hand with Weapon fell,
 Shall wilfully bereave them of their Lives,
 The sudden Blow prevents all Sense of Pain :
 Whereas my Life's a constant Martyrdom,
 A Series of Cares, and Fears, and Griefs.
 'Tis not the Pain of Body I lament,
 But 'tis the fretting Anguish of my Mind
 That forces Sighs and Exclamations loud,
 That I were disembarra's'd from the World,
 Where Gins and Snares encompass me around.
 By mere good Nature sometimes I'm betray'd ;
 The Kindness which I've sow'd, springs up in Blades
 Of Perfidy and base Ingratitude,
 Of Henbane, Aconite, and stinking Weeds,
 Instead of pleasant Flow'rs and wholesom Fruit.
 Besides, infernal Fiends do set their Feet
 On all my Labours : interloping Sprights
 Are tortur'd at supported Innocence,
 And envy good Designs when near their Ends.
 Wherefore they steal behind us in our Ways ;
 And when they spy us weave a virtuous Web,
 They secretly unravel, or deform
 Our Work with intermixing Threads of Vice.

This

This makes me wish that I had never bin,
 Or that my Soul were drench'd in *Zetbe's* Lake :
 Then would my Anguish finally conclude,
 And I no more should rowl upon the Wheel
 Of Chance, whose Motion is perpetual.

Man's but a fetid Vapour, first exhal'd
 From Earth, and then condens'd into a Cloud,
 That so his Filthiness may be conceal'd
 Under the Covert of a painted Skin :
 T' engender fiery Meteors, Passions, Lusts,
 Concupiscences, and bewilder'd Thoughts,
 Which bursting forth give Trouble to the World,
 And soon conclude in Blasts of empty Smoke,
 Hail, Rain, or Wind extinct as soon as form'd.

Devouring Fire, when all its Fuel's spent,
 Decays and dies ; Earth, Air, and Water, all
 Are subject to Corruption, whence we rise,
 And to our Elements return again.
 The very Air, which does prolong our Lives,
 Gives equal Shortness ; every Breath we draw
 Takes something from us on its balmy Wing.
 Our finer Parts thus vanish into Air,
 The gross Remains scum off in Excrement :
 And if some solid Substance should be left,
 Death soon reduces it to Dirt and Worms ;
 And in th' Abyss of Matter we are lost,
 Until at last the All-commanding Word
 Shall reproduce each Soul to solid Life.

Mean while, altho from Thought to Thought I roul
 In Discontent, yet one Idea strikes
 My Mind with Pleasure : 'tis that Sympathy
 Which first united both our Souls together.
 We saw each other, and were strait inspir'd
 With Inclinations to each other's Weal :
 No sooner did I fix my Eyes on yours,
 But thro that Perspective I soon discern'd
 The virtuous Inclinations of your Mind ;

Which

Which rais'd high Veneration in my Breast,
 And grew up gaining a more lasting Strength,
 Integrity, and constant Faithfulness.
 Our Joys and Grievs have ever been the same,
 The Product of our Country's Weal or Woe;
 But adverse Fortune ne'er could change our Minds,
 Or warp us to Contempt or Flattery.
 But with an even Mind we still sustain'd
 The various Accidents of Humane Life,
 And prop'd each other up by mutual Love.

Surely there is no kind of Beasts, or Birds,
 Of Insects, Reptils, or the watry Fry,
 Whose Nature is not plainly seen in Men.
 How like are some Mens Tempers to the Fox?
 Others are perfect Bears in Human Shape.
 Here you may meet a Crocodile, who seeks
 With feigned Tears of Love to work your Woe;
 There a sly Serpent winds into your Heart,
 Where being warm'd he bites and stings to Death,
 With Pains acute, the Patron of his Life.
 Thus Tygers, Lions, Leopards, Panthers, Wolves,
 And all the monstrous kinds of *Africk's* Breed,
 Are masquerading in the Forms of Men:
 Yet secret Characters in every Face,
 Discover Nature to th' observing Mind,
 Which perches thro' the borrow'd Vizor Mask,
 And kens the various Complexions
 Of Vice and Virtue, immensely distant each,
 Tho' one does seem to have o'erspread the Whole.

Let Space be left among the Fields and Woods,
 For me to make my Court to Trees and Flowers,
 To languish on the Banks of Chrystal Streams,
 And pine away for an old mossy Rock.
 Sometimes the Oak with sacred Passion sways
 My Soul; when I her venerable Bulk
 Behold, I could turn *Druid* for her sake,
 And take my Residence for ever up

Within

Within her hollow Trunk, where airy Forms
 Shall visit, and instruct me in the Paths
 Of Nature's Mysterys always August,
 And full of Wisdom immarcessible:
 Compar'd wherewith the choicest Orient Pearls
 Their Lustre lose, but Wisdom always shines,
 Pure Emanation of Eternal Light,
 The spotless Mirror wherein God beholds
 His own Divinity transcending Thought ;
 Whilst glittering Crouds of Angels are eclips'd
 By an Excess of penetrating Light.

O *Ariel*, Chief of the Celestial Choirs,
 Who tun'st the Spheres to thy eternal Lays,
 Send down, from Heav'n, some azur'd Messenger,
 Or purpl'd Post from *Eden*, to inspire
 My longing Soul with Harmonys Divine,
 And endless Raptures ; while I penetrate
 Into the vast Expanse and wide Abyss
 Of Wisdom, which inlightens endless Space !
 I heard the Eastern Winds record its Praise
 On Flutes, with soft melodious Harmony :
 Whilst in sweet Consort gentle Zephirs blew,
 To which South-Winds the Counter-Tenor bare,
 Whilst *Boreas* join'd them with his deep-long'd Base ;
 And all the younger Sons of *Bolus*
 Fill'd up the Choir with Musick loud and shrill.
 The Trees, and all the Vegetable Race
 Struck up in Consort with the tuneful Winds ;
 To which the Birds put in their chearful Notes :
 The Streams and Rivers murmur'd grateful Airs,
 The Sea rais'd up her Billows to the Clouds,
 Whilst jovial Tritons sound their Trumps Marine,
 Answer'd by rumbling Timbrels from the Sky ;
 Nature disclos'd an Universal Rant.

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MAR 28 1926

